LINDORES ABBEY

BY

A. H. REA

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LINDORES ABBEY

AND ITS HISTORIC ASSOCIATIONS.

BY

ARCHIBALD HENRY REA,

DUNDEE,

Author of "The Divot Dyke, and Other Poems."

With Preface by

A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A. Scot.

Author of "Fife: Pictorial and Historical."

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NOTE TO READERS.

MY ambition when I began to take an interest in Lindores Abbey was to produce a handy guide to the ruins, along with a general reference to Scottish history during the time when the Abbey was in active existence.

Owing to the death of Dr Laing (4th December 1892), my first intention had to be departed from, as we had agreed in conversation that he would read over my proofs, and give me the benefit of such particulars as he had collected since the publication of his own History of the Abbey in 1875. Though deprived of what would have been a gratification to us both, I did not lay the matter aside, but continued to add to my information.

In publishing now in a more extended form than at first contemplated I do so in the belief that the result will be none the less acceptable.

To a few literary acquaintances I acknowledge indebtedness for advice, as well as assistance, while arranging for this publication.

For the ground-plan of the Abbey and the design for cover I have to thank a young friend.

A. H. REA.

TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY GRANDMOTHER,

SUSAN GILLESPIE MAXWELL,

WHO WAS BORN AT INCHRYE,

PARISH OF ABDIE,

IN 1803,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE best method of teaching general history is that which links national events with local antiquities. The ruined castle with its ivy-clad walls may be so familiar to the dwellers near its site that they will regard it merely as a part of the landscape, as lifeless and inert as the distant mountain or the sluggish stream. Picturesque it may be, even as a blasted oak, whose gnarled trunk is covered by the foliage of a parasite; but the ruin will not appeal to the imagination of the beholder from its external aspect only. There must be some *human* interest imparted to these crumbling walls by the tales of heroic deeds or dastardly actions that have taken place within their precincts. Then the dead stones seem to start into life, they form a part of the great drama of human history, and every fragment of the dilapidated structure becomes instinct with memories of other days. "The only poetry is history, if we could tell it aright," wrote Carlyle; and the reason is that history, when deftly related, links the present day with remote times, expands the mental vision, and reveals the mystic bond that binds humanity in one brotherhood.

It was, no doubt, with some such feeling that the author of this book addressed himself to the task of sketching the history of Lindores Abbey. He has looked upon the melancholy remains of the ancient Abbey, and has sought to spell out its history and relate it for those who have neither ability nor inclination for historical research. His has been the feeling so well expressed by Antonio in Webster's "Duchess of Malfy":—

> "I do love these ancient ruins.
> We never tread upon them but we set
> Our foot upon some reverend history;
> And, questionless, here in this open court,
> Which now lies naked to the injuries
> Of stormy weather, some men lie interred
> Loved the church so well, and gave so largely to't,
> They thought it should have canopied their bones
> Till doomsday; but all things have their end;
> Churches and cities, which have diseases like to men,
> Must have like death that we have."

In this reverent spirit the author has traced the story of Lindores Abbey from its foundation until the time when the Reformation wave passed over Scotland, sweeping away many of her most magnificent buildings, and marking its progress by ruin and devastation. From the æsthetic point of view, it is impossible to regard this period with other feelings than those of regret. But it must not be

forgotten that the storm of the Reformation, though it did much physical damage, had the effect of clearing the moral atmosphere. And it should be remembered that the destruction of the Scottish cathedrals and monasteries was not originally contemplated nor planned by the Reformers. George Buchanan was decidedly opposed to any such action; and though John Knox, in the first fervour of his fanaticism, saw no other method but to "pull down the nests that the rooks might flee away," he soon saw that the storm he had raised was beyond his control. Besides, the neglect of the monks and ecclesiastical rulers to keep their sacred edifices in repair made these fall an easy prey to iconoclastic zeal. St Andrews Cathedral had endured a long process of slow decay years before the Reformation period; and the Monastery of Dunfermline was wilfully destroyed by Edward I. in 1304, while the fall of the tower of Dunfermline Abbey, which took place in 1716, was the result of the gradual undermining of the structure through repeated interments during many centuries. To ensure ultimate destruction it was only necessary for the Reformers to unroof the buildings and to leave the rest to time and the weather. When once these buildings were deprived of their sanctity they were made convenient quarries for neighbouring proprietors, who had no superstitious dread of using the stone

and timber for "base uses" such as were never contemplated by the founders of the sacred fanes.

The story of the rise, decline, and fall of Lindores Abbey has been related consecutively by Mr Rea. The accepted authority on this subject is the late Alexander Laing, LL.D., who spent many years in the study of his beloved Abbey of Lindores. His work is a monument of patient research and cautious theorising, which will preserve his name to future generations. Quite recently a Chartulary of Lindores, earlier than that which was edited for the Abbotsford Club by the late Dr W. B. B. D. Turnbull, was discovered in the Charter Room at Caprington Castle, Ayrshire. It will shortly be published by the Scottish History Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. But though this work will be of great interest to scholars and students of history, it would not greatly have altered Mr Rea's volume so far as the general reader is concerned. The tale so graphically told by him may induce many to study more closely their own local antiquities, that they may be "instructed by the antiquary times."

A. H. Millar.

Dundee, *August* 1902.

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LINDORES ABBEY

And its Historic Associations.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—My First Visit to the Abbey—Purpose of this Work.

OF all the valleys in Scotland, perhaps not one surpasses the valley of the Tay for beauty of scenery, grandeur of surroundings, and wealth of places famous in the annals of our country. Tradition and romance, combined with authentic records, prove that many important episodes of Scottish history had their locale either on the north or south banks of the river Tay.

One of the most interesting of these places is the Abbey of Lindores, situated east of Newburgh, in Fifeshire, a little way below the junction of the Tay and Earn rivers, whose mingling waters, after encircling the island of Mugdrum, spread out into one broad stream, and a few miles farther on pass into the German Ocean.

The Abbey is now a mass of ivy-clad ruins. The impression made on my mind the first time I visited it will not be easily effaced. On entering its confines I experienced intense and unwonted emotions. I was astonished at the appearance presented by fragments of great walls, broken arches, basements of massive columns, and outlines of apartments, many of which must have been of large proportions. What desolation, I thought, is here! What changes must have passed over this building since it first graced the lovely scene by which it is surrounded, till it assumed its present aspect. Whose master-mind had conceived its original design? What wealth, what skill, had been expended in raising it to its pristine magnificence and splendour! And why had its glory departed and its beauty fled? Had it failed to accomplish that for which it was erected? No power of the fancy could bring back to their familiar haunts its erstwhile inmates. Stone coffins lay here and there, bare and empty!—not a trace remained of those who had been laid in them with all the pomp and ceremony of a bygone age. There was no answer to my questionings, save that in the cracks and crannies around me time had written in fantastic outlines—R-U-I-N.

Thus, my first visit, whetted my curiosity, and urged me to learn something regarding the wonderful-looking place and those who had been

associated with it. In my quest for information I was happily successful, and, believing that visitors and others might appreciate a handy book of reference to the Abbey and its history, I decided to place the result in a permanent form.

For many of the particulars, especially in connection with the abbots and their public functions, I am indebted to the late Mr Alex. Laing, LL.D., Newburgh, who very kindly allowed me to cull from his exhaustive work dealing with the subject. He moreover accompanied me through the ruins, and mentioned interesting details concerning the general design and arrangements of the various sections of the Abbey buildings.

To illustrate the work, I was fortunate in securing the services of Mr Max Cowper, a well-known artist, who has selected with excellent judgment, and executed with rare fidelity, the outstanding features of the ruins and neighbourhood.

My main purpose in the following pages will accordingly be to indicate the Abbey's connection with a period of our country's history fraught with incidents of momentous import.

CHAPTER II.

Introduction of Christianity into Scotland — Saint Ninian — Saint Columba: His Church System — Danish Invaders — Papal Demands—Queen Margaret: Her Policy and its Effect.

THE rise and progress of Monachism in Europe, with the attendant results; the religious life of Scotland during the centuries immediately preceding the founding of the Scottish abbeys; the founding of these abbeys, and the objects which they were designed to accomplish, are matters closely associated with religious and social problems, many of which are with us, still awaiting solution.

It is not my intention to refer in any special way to the monastic system, although it was the form of religious life professed by the inmates of the Abbey of Lindores. The religious aspect of Scotland previous to and at the time when the Abbey was built, however, claims some attention, from the fact that a native Church—missionary in character and Christian in doctrine—was in active existence, and subsequently suffered

extrusion through the efforts of the aggressive Romish Church, to which the monastic orders belonged.

This early Church has not received that measure of recognition which it historically deserves, although its presence and opposition to Romish practices stand sharply out in ecclesiastical history.

A pagan religion, styled Druidism, is stated to have prevailed in North Britain when the Roman emperors sent their legions into the country, and, after the crucifixion of Christ, Roman soldiers are credited with being the first to tell the story of the great Cross-Bearer. If such was the case, it is unlikely that these invaders made any permanent impression on the native mind so far as the Christian faith was concerned.

It was not until the latter part of the fourth century that an accredited missionary of the Cross appeared in Scotland. His name was Saint Ninian (Ringan), and he converted the Scots of the south to the new religion, but after his death they lapsed back into heathenism.

The next exponent of Christianity to appear was Saint Columba, and the circumstances connected with his coming are singular. While attending as a student a seminary in Ireland, where a Christian Church fully organised was already established, he copied, it is said, a

psalter belonging to one of the superiors. On learning of Columba's action, the owner of the psalter laid claim to the copy, with the argument that "to every cow belongs its own calf." Trouble ensued, and even blood was shed, for, according to historians, Columba was related to kingly personages, who took up arms on behalf of their kinsman. It is not known definitely whether Columba was expelled from the Church in Ireland, but at anyrate, under some strong influence, possibly as an act of penance, or perhaps with a natural regard for the spiritual needs of his ancestral relations, he set out for Albyn (Scotland), crossing the sea in a small boat called a curragh, accompanied by twelve followers. Landing on the West Coast, the island of Hy, or Iona, was ultimately selected as the place of settlement. From this point a crusade commenced among the Picts "and the dwellers on the Tay."

The tenets of the system founded by Saint Columba appear to have been wonderfully free from error. The text-book was the Bible. The teachers lived in some kind of communal arrangement, and certainly took no dictation from outsiders, although they acknowledged and had intercourse with other churches. The abbot or chief, whom they selected from time to time, was their sole superior, and even then only recognised as such in regard to college affairs.

Iona was therefore for a lengthened period the principal seat of the Columbite order, and its seniores or elders appointed missionaries and pastors to districts where congregations could be brought together. These bishops, as they were usually designated, while discharging the duties assigned to them, were under college discipline, and had to render an account of their labours and the fruits thereof.

A good deal of fabulous matter has come down to us concerning Saint Columba. Stripped of the swaddlings with which credulous writers have invested him, he appears a remarkable figure in early Scotland. His temperament and eccentricities are quite as noteworthy as his religious fervour and the respect in which he was held by his contemporaries. It is alleged that he would not permit cows to be kept on Iona, the reason he gave being that "where there is a cow there will be a woman, and where there is a woman there will be mischief." Women were also excluded from Iona, and Columba's married companions were under the necessity of setting up homes on an adjacent isle, to which they repaired when free from their college duties. The labours of Columba were eminently successful. The groves and circles of the Druids were deserted; their rites and ceremonies were forgotten, or robbed of their vicious paganism, and wedded to the

new religion. How rapidly the Columbite system spread in Scotland is not known; but the hold it took can be traced even now, since there is scarcely a strath or glen, lonely cave, village well, or country fair but recalls the name of some Celtic saint.

These early missionaries did not escape persecution. Fierce Danes and Vikings periodically invaded the coasts, and laid rude hands on the belongings of the religious communities, plundering homes and scattering peaceful teachers abroad, or seizing and killing them in wild fury. Through it all the system kept entire, although changed in certain aspects. When trouble beset Iona it was given up, but other colleges were planted. Abernethy, a few miles west from Lindores, was for long the headquarters, and such places as Scone, Dunkeld, Loch-leven, St Andrews, Brechin, Monymusk, Dull, became associated with the religion. Owing to the dangers which surrounded the system, lay abbots were rendered necessary in place of, or perhaps in addition to, the ordinary abbots. These lay superiors held office by heredity, and were doubtless at their outset landowners. When the bishop resident in the imperial city of Rome began to lord it over his brethren, and laid claim to the title of Universal Bishop, a fresh danger menaced the followers of Saint Columba. On the

Continent the professors of Christianity had become divided into sections, two of the more prominent being the Eastern Church (to which the Columbite was in some respects allied) and the Western or Roman Church.

Now and again abbots and missionaries of the Celtic colleges in Albyn journeyed on the Continent, travelling sometimes as far as Rome. On their return several of these abbots introduced into their colleges customs which they pointed out were prevalent wherever they had been journeying. The bishop or pope at Rome also sent agents bearing commands to the clergy in Albyn, over whom he claimed jurisdiction. Refusals and disputations followed, till ultimately the Celtic Church gave up several time-honoured religious seasons, and adopted those of Rome, in all this, let it be noted, yielding nothing in regard to doctrinal matters, for which the Columbites held as their authority the Scriptures only.

The advent of Margaret Atheling, better known subsequently as Queen Margaret, the Saxon princess, brought religious affairs in Scotland (Albyn) to a crisis. No sooner did she become the wife of King Malcolm Canmore than she sent for the Saxon monk Turgot, Prior of Durham. He was appointed her confessor, and afterwards assisted in the education of her children.

Malcolm allowed his queen to exercise great

influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and in directing his councils. He even favoured her designs by interpreting her wishes to his Gaelic subjects, and enforcing them by his royal commands. At her instigation the native clergy, to whom the term Keledi or Culdees was by this time applied, were compelled to give up their own customs and adopt more fully those of Rome. Lent, Easter, the tonsure, and other regulations not enjoined by Scripture, were brought before Church councils, which were convened and directed by her. The unsophisticated Culdees were no match for this cultured and designing lady, backed as she was by the king's authority, consequently much of what was of human origin in the Columbite or Culdee Church gave place to the Roman rule. Simple rites hitherto practised were supplanted by elaborate ritual. Another influence must have operated powerfully against the native clergy, namely, the continual incursion of Saxon and other immigrants from the south. These settlers were in favour at court, became extensive landholders, and appear to have had little respect either for native speech or native religious customs.

Queen Margaret's aims and activity proved far-reaching, and to her must be ascribed the subjugation, in so far as it took place, of a native or local to a foreign Church. Her son, David I.,

continued her policy by substituting Romish monks for Culdee clergy in ancient seats of learning. He also founded magnificent abbeys, to which he granted extensive endowments, while the great landholders followed his example by founding religious houses, and giving largely to the Church. The apparent solemnity and impressive displays made by the various orders of monks introduced into the country completed the movement. Everywhere these became popular, and lands held by Culdees began to be transferred to the new comers. Nevertheless the native clergy appear to have had a standing in the country up to the thirteenth century, and were from time to time recognised by sovereigns;—their possessions at Abernethy were confirmed by Alexander II. as late as 1245. How they managed to exist so long can partly be accounted for when it is remembered that they had portions of land which they cultivated themselves; besides they must also have had the sympathy and respect of the native Gaelic-speaking community.

It has been alleged against them that they degenerated and grew worldly; possibly they did. Causes that may have led to the degeneracy of their church system have been already indicated, but to this day their purity of life has never been questioned. Their worldliness consisted probably in trying to retain possession of lands

and emoluments granted to them for duties which they were not allowed to execute. In this peculiar and, let it be added, degraded position, the last representatives of the Church founded by Saint Columba gradually died out during the time when the Abbey of Lindores was built and the Church of Rome was flourishing on every side. While this is true in a general sense, there is at least one known instance, namely, that of St Andrews, where the Culdee possessions, with a regular succession of officials, have been traced as existing to the Reformation.

CHAPTER III.

Last Celtic Ruler—David I.—Feudalism Introduced—William the Lion — First Scottish Alliance with France — Surrender of Scottish Independence: Its Restoration—Origin of Lindores Abbey.

ABOUT the time when the round towers of Abernethy and Brechin were built the tide of Celtic Christianity was stayed. Its wave-borne messengers were heard no more on the banks of the Rhine, nor amid the mountains of Switzerland. Its last strong ripples that swept past the Saxon reef of the Lothians murmured and died away on the shores of England. Here Aidan, the last of the fervent Celtic missionaries, held aloft at Lindisfarne the torch that had been lit at Iona, but its light shone dimly through the screen of the interpreter, and the Angles and Saxons of Northumbria turned from their paganism to a clergy guided by the traditions of Rome. When Malcolm Canmore, who may be styled the last of the Celtic rulers, died, Celtic domination came to an end, and the language of the Gael receded rapidly from the eastern seaboard before

the Angliac dialect introduced by foreign burgesses of rising towns. The Cymric of Strathclyde disappeared, somewhat later, in much the same way, and the Saxon tongue became the medium of common intercourse in the lowlands of Scotland from the Moray Firth to the Solway.

David I., son of Malcolm and Margaret, welcomed Norman adventurers into his kingdom. He bestowed lands and offices on these French-speaking immigrants, who remained for generations alien to the people among whom they had settled. By their aid the Scottish King effected a revolution in the tenure of land: feudalism was introduced, and the social condition of the country was altered to suit Norman ideas, while the old Celtic constitution, history, and manners were gradually set aside. It was this Norman element that afterwards caused so much trouble in Scotland, as many Norman barons gave with alacrity allegiance to the English-Norman Kings, although the people generally, whether Caledonian Pict, Dalriadic Scot, Cumbrian of Strathclyde, Lothian Saxon, Danish settler, Islesman or Norman, regarded themselves as of the Scottish host and a people separate from and independent of the southern English.

It was in the midst of such political and distracting elements, and during the reign of William "the Lion" (a grandson of David I.), that

the Abbey of Lindores was first thought about—the founder being the king's brother David, who was created Earl of Huntingdon. There is a tradition that David was older than William, and would have been elected king had he not been absent from Scotland when their brother Malcolm IV. died, but his subsequent behaviour belies the idea. He was born (*circa*) 1144, and the following references to incidents with which he was associated show that he was a conspicuous personage in his time.

When William "the Lion" became king he endeavoured to get into the good graces of Henry, King of England, in the hope that Northumberland might thereby be restored to the kingdom of Scotland. He even assisted Henry to suppress insurrection in his Continental territories. Discovering ere long that he need expect little for his trouble, William sent ambassadors to France in 1168 to negotiate with that kingdom for an alliance against Henry. This is the first known instance of Scotland seeking a league with France against England, but the result must have been unsatisfactory, for at the coronation of Prince Henry, eldest son of the English sovereign, on 14th June 1170, William of Scotland and his brother David presented themselves before the youthful prince, and along with other English barons did homage for their English possessions.

Shortly after this, Henry and his son quarrelled, and the Scottish King joined with the prince—zeal in this new alliance causing him to invade England. A second time he led his troops into Henry's territory, where they soon scattered abroad in search of booty, leaving William with only a small body-guard. A party of Yorkshire barons, seeing the position he was in, surprised and captured the daring invader, and as Henry's prisoner he was conveyed to the Continent and confined at Falise in Normandy. Here, with the consent of the Scottish barons and clergy, given at Valogne, 8th December 1174, he became liegeman to Henry for Scotland and all his other territories; his brother David and twenty of the principal Scottish nobles being selected as hostages. At this ignoble surrender of the independence of Scotland the foresight and firmness of the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld procured the insertion of a clause which left intact the freedom of the Scottish (Romish) Church.

In 1175, William and David returned to Scotland, and harmony prevailed in the after intercourse between William and Henry. On the death of Simon de Lis, Earl of Huntingdon, without issue, Henry, as a token of his regard, gave the earldom to the Scottish King, who arranged that the title should be conferred on

his brother David, and in addition, created him Earl of Garvioch and bestowed on him the town of Dundee, the town of Inverbervie, and the lordship of Langforgande (Longforgan), together with many other lands.

During the enforced absence of the Scottish King his turbulent Galloway subjects broke out in rebellion. On their return, both the king and his brother set themselves to the work of repression, and when peace was restored, William, out of gratitude for his safe return, founded the Abbey of Aberbrothoc in the year 1178, for monks of the Tyrone or Tyronensian order.

The death of Henry II. of England (6th July 1189) led to the restoration of Scottish independence. Richard I. (Cœur de Lion), son and successor of Henry, restored to Scotland all that had been extorted during the captivity of William; the only recompense asked for being substantial assistance in a crusade to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens. The success of this crusade was of a limited nature, and Richard while returning to his own kingdom was seized by the Duke of Austria and imprisoned. An enormous sum was named for his ransom, and the Scottish monarch subscribed largely to assist the English in their determination to secure the early return of their lion-hearted king.

A friendship appears to have sprung up between

Richard and the Earl of Huntingdon, for the latter carried one of the swords of State at Richard's coronation, and was present at his marriage.

Shortly after his own marriage to Matilda, daughter of the Earl of Chester (26th August 1190), Earl David is said to have hastened after Richard, already on his way to the Holy Land, and shared in his successes and misfortunes. The earl suffered shipwreck on the coast of Egypt, was taken prisoner by Saracens, who sold him as a slave. He was bought by a Venetian, who conveyed him to Constantinople, where he was recognised by English merchants, ransomed, and sent home. As the vessel in which he sailed neared Scotland it was overtaken by a violent storm and nearly wrecked. "Finally," Boece, the Dundee historian, tells us, "quhen he had maid ane voit (vow) to big ane kirk in the honoure of the Virgine Mary gif he war fortunat to eschape the dangeir of seis, he arrivit in Tay, beside Dunde, not far fra Sanct Nicholas Chapell, but (without) ony rudder or taikill; and gaif thankis to God and the Blessit Virgine for delivering of him fra sic extreme perill. The place quhare he arrivit was callit Allectum; bot efter his cumming it changit name and was callit Dunde, quhilk signifys in our langage the Gift of God. King William heirand the returning of

his brothir, quhome he belevit mony yeiris afore deceissit, come with maist diligence to Dunde, and embrasit him; syne gaif thankis to God and the Blessit Virgine Mary, that deliverit his brothir fra sa mony dangeris. Efter this, he gart maik generall processionis throw the realme, to geif thankis to God for the happy returning of his brothir.

"Sic things done, ane conventioun was maid at Dunde; in the quhilk licence was gevin to Erle David to big ane Abbay in quhat place he plesit of Scotland, and to dotat it with landis and rentis at his pleseir. King William gaif mony privilegis to Dunde, quhilk enduris to thir dayis. David, nocht refusing the benevolence of his brothir, biggit ane Abbay, callit Lundoris efter the ordoure of Sanct Benedict.

"Ane thing is thair richt marvellus; na man is hurt in that Abbay with eddaris (adders). This eddaris lyis in the middis of ane vale circulit with wod and rinnand watter, throw quhilk they burgeon with mair plentuous nowner than evir was sene in ony othir partis. Howbeit, na man gettis skaith thairof; for we have sene young barnis play among them, but (without) dammage or hurt following."

CHAPTER IV.

The Founding of the Abbey—The Charter—Pope Innocent III. confirms the Abbey's Privileges.

THE actual year in which the foundation of the Abbey was laid is not known. Fordoun the historian gives 1178, the same year in which King William founded Arbroath Abbey. One writer states that it was then founded in memory of Earl David's taking Ptolemais (Acre) in the Holy Land; another refers to the fact that the foundation charter makes no mention of the earl's gratitude for his wonderful escape from shipwreck, as would naturally have been done had that been the reason for its foundation. Fordoun appears to contradict himself in regard to 1178, for he alludes to the first abbot, who died in 1219, as ruling over the convent upwards of twenty years. As regards Acre, that city fell on the 12th July 1191. Arbroath Abbey, founded in 1178, received its confirmatory bull four years afterwards from Pope Lucius, who made the grant on 6th April 1182, while Lindores Abbey

was not confirmed till 1198. The presence of these varying statements leads perforce to the acceptance of Boece's story, which indicates that the Abbey was not founded previous to 1191.

The foundation charter was executed not earlier than 1196, and is entitled — "Carta Fundationis Ecclesiæ et Monasterii de Londors in Silvis de Ironside," and is to the following effect:—"Earl David, brother of the King of Scotland. Know me to have founded the Abbacy of Londors of the order of Kelso, for the honor of God and of the blessed Virgin, and Saint Andrew the apostle, and all the saints; for the welfare of the soul of King David my grandfather, of Earl Henry my father and Ada my mother; of King Malcolm and King William my brothers and Queen Armegarda and all my ancestors, and for the welfare of my own soul, and that of Matilda my spouse, of David my son, and of all my descendants; and for the souls of my brothers and sisters: Granting and confirming to the said Abbacy of Londors and the monks serving God there, in pure and perpetual charity, the Church of Londors and the lands pertaining to the said Church as Master Thomas held the same; and the churches of Dunde, Fintrith and Inverurin with the Chapel of Munkegin; the churches of Durnach, Prame, Radmuriel, Inchemabanin, Culsamuel, and Kelalc-

mund, with the chapels, lands and teinds of the said churches and all their pertinents, to the proper use and sustenance of the said Monks, free from all service and exaction whatever.

"Witnesses—William, King of Scotland; John, Bishop of Aberdeen; Ralph, Bishop of Brechin; Osbert, Abbot of Kelso; Henry, Abbot of Aberdrudoc; Simon, Archdeacon of Aberdeen; Walter, official; Mathew of Aberdeen, Clerk to the King; David of Lindeseia; Walter Olifard; Robert Baset; Walkeline son of Stephen; William Wascelin; Galfrid of Watervile; Norman son of Malcom, Constable of Innerurin; Henry of Beuile; Mathew the falconer; Simon Flamang, with many others."

Not long after another important document was executed at the instance of Pope Innocent III., confirming the Abbey's privileges, &c., entitled "Bulla Papæ Innocentii de Confirmatione Privilegiorum, 19 April 1198—Granting to Guido, Abbot of Lindores, and his brethren apostolic protection, and confirming the privileges belonging to their Benedictine order, and also whatever possessions and goods they have received, or may in future receive, by the gift of Pontiffs, the bounty of Kings or Princes, the offerings of the faithful, or in any other lawful way; amongst which are reckoned the place itself upon which the said Monastery is built, granted by Earl David, brother of William, King of Scotland; the church of the town of Lundores

with its pertinents, namely, the chapels of Bundamer (Dundemor), and the lands pertaining to the foresaid church; the island called Redinche, and the fishings in Thay adjoining the said island; the Mill of Lundores, with its multures; the church of Dunde and the land belonging thereto; and a toft in the burgh of Dunde, free from all exactions and service; and a carucate (labour of eight oxen, equal to 104 acres) of land in the town of Neutile, and in the town of Pert (Perth); the land called the island beyond the moneth Fintreth; the church of the said town with its pertinents in Garvich; Lethgavel and Malind; the church of Ritcheth with its chapels, namely, Inverurin and Munchegin; the church of Durnah; the churches of Prame, Rathmuriel, Inchemabanin, Culsamuel. In the diocese of Lincoln the churches of C..... and Wissenden. In the diocese of Stratheren, the churches of Mothel and Chelalcmund, with the chapels of the foresaid churches, together with the lands and teinds thereof; and one full toft in the burgh of Inverurie. Given at the Lateran in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord MCXCVIII."

In this way the Pope sanctioned and confirmed the founding of the Abbey of Lindores, and also certified for all time forward the new name of Dundee to the "pleasant" or "bonnie" burgh on the north side of the Tay.

CHAPTER V.

Site of the Abbey—Its Environments—Design of the Structure—The First Abbot—The First Pastor of Dundee.

THE Abbey of Lindores was erected and endowed for monks of the Tironensian or reformed class of the Benedictine order. Benedict, or Bennet, who founded his order in A.D. 528, was the first to bring the monastic life into favour in the West. Corruptions crept into his order, and occasioned so much scandal, that one Bernard of Abbeville retired in disgust to the woods of Tiron, in the diocese of Chartres, France, and laid there the foundation of a monastery for reformed Benedictines in 1109. This second order, like the first, consisted of assemblages of masons, carpenters, smiths, carvers, painters, husbandmen, &c., also teachers to educate and instruct the young.

Monks of this order also studied medicine, and became acquainted with the virtues of many rare and valuable plants.

The site chosen for the Abbey shows good taste. Seclusion cannot have been aimed at

entirely, for it adjoins the river Tay, and had a landing stage of its own; whilst immediately to the south is one of the chief highways of early Scotland, leading through a narrow pass in the Ochil hills—a veritable gateway into the interior of Fife. The prospect from the Abbey is singularly pleasing, whilst the soil in the neighbourhood, if not originally fertile, must soon have been made so by the industry and skill of the monks. Built within the shadow of an ancient forest, fuel and wood for building purposes were ready at hand. Running water, another valuable commodity, was also abundant. The stones employed in building were of the kind known as old red sandstone, and were brought from the founder's own quarry of Hyrnside, east from the Abbey, and to which a canal was cut. Another kind of stone, a grey stone, evidently from a distance, was also employed in the pillars and decorations. There is an old tradition to the effect that the earth in the interior of the Abbey was conveyed from Ireland, to prevent adders and other vermin from taking up their abode within the precincts.

The design of the structure was what is now termed Early English—stiff-leaf or first pointed style (Gothic).

Kelso, the parent abbey of the Tironensian order in Scotland, and to which David I. trans-

ferred the monks from Selkirk in 1128, sent its prior Guido, with a sufficient number of brethren, to Lindores, and convent life began in the Abbey. Guido was made abbot, and superintended the building operations. It is likely that the church and other erections were designed by him, the beauty of the individual parts being left to the taste and skill of the workmen themselves. Guido, besides his duties at the Abbey, gave attention to public affairs. His name appears as witness to various charters, and he was present at several Church councils.

One of these latter was held at Perth in December 1201, when Cardinal John of Salerno presided. Two enactments that can be traced to this council are interesting; one was that "no priest who had been ordained on the Lord's day should continue to officiate at the altar." It was also decreed that "every Saturday from twelve of the clock should be kept as holiday, and that all people at the sound of the bell should address themselves to hear service and abstain from all handiwork until Monday morning."

In 1212 Guido was again in Perth (St Johnstoun) a member of the council, convened under the authority of Pope Innocent III. by the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow to sanction a fresh crusade to free Jerusalem from the infidels. Few serviceable persons came

forward to earn the Pope's promised rewards, many of the faithful having by this time secured a promise of Paradise by fighting against the Albigenses.

In 1214 the monks of Lindores appointed the first recorded pastor of Dundee, viz., William of Kerneil. Gregory the Bishop of Brechin, in whose diocese Dundee lay, gave his consent and arranged for a stipend to the vicar. He also granted permission to the monks to start schools in the town. In this same year, William "the Lion" died. He was not unmindful of the Abbey founded by his brother David, and gave it "a full toft in the royal burgh of Berwick, Strivolen (Stirling), Crail, Perth, Forfare, Munros, Aberdene."

CHAPTER VI.

A Quarrel with the Pope—Scotland under Papal Ban—Death of the Founder and of the First Abbot of Lindores—Earl of Huntingdon's Interest in the Abbey.

NOT long after the death of King William, his successor, Alexander II., and the Scottish nation got into trouble with the Pope. Alexander and his powerful subjects had sided with the English barons when they took up arms against John, their king, and compelled him (19th June 1215) to affix his seal to the famous Magna Charta —"the keystone of English liberty." The Pope professed to be highly incensed at all who had opposed John, who was now his vassal. Guallo, a Papal legate, was therefore instructed to excommunicate the King of Scotland and all his subjects. In February 1217 this was solemnly done with book and bell; Guallo cursed both high and low, rich and poor, for what they had done or connived at. At once all religious exercises should have ceased within the realm; abbots,

monks, and priests might shut up their churches and take holiday; but it was not so, for nearly a year elapsed before the clergy considered or gave their sanction to the Papal mandate. The curse was little heeded, and does not appear to have caused inconvenience of a serious nature. It was kept in force until the succeeding February, when the Prior of Durham and the Dean of York, acting under orders from the English legate, came to Scotland and removed the ban. On their way home these erratic churchmen lodged in Lindores Abbey. Before going to bed the inmates of the Abbey had evidently enjoyed themselves. During the night the room in which the Prior of Durham slept took fire, but his chamberlain was so drunk that he could render no assistance, and the prior was very severely burned. He could proceed no further homeward than the priory of Coldingham, where he expired on the 13th May.

The year 1219 was a memorable one as regards the Abbey, for in that year its founder and its first abbot both died on the same day, 17th June. Of Earl David's career after he decided to found the Abbey little is recorded. In 1205 he swore fealty to his nephew Prince Alexander, afterwards Alexander II. In 1210 he and the rest of the royal family had a narrow escape from drowning. The royal residence was at Bertha (Perth), near the confluence of the

Tay and Almond rivers, and a flood occurring in the district, Perth was inundated and destroyed. The king, Prince Alexander, and the earl, with difficulty got into a small skiff and escaped down the Tay. It is alleged that on this occasion an infant son of the king, named John, was drowned, and that when a safer place was chosen on which to build, they named the new town, to commemorate the king's loss, Saint Johnstoun.

During the last few years of his life, Earl David seems to have preferred for residence his estates in Northumberland. His chief abode was the Castle of Fotheringhay, near Peterborough, where Mary the unfortunate Queen of Scots was afterwards beheaded. Here John Baliol, father of the claimant to the Scottish crown wooed and won Devorgille, the earl's eldest granddaughter. She it was who established the Franciscan friars at Dundee and Dumfries. The earl's last public appearance in Scotland was when he presented himself at the coronation of his nephew Alexander and loyally assisted at the ceremonials connected therewith at Scone. Accompanied by the newly crowned king he attended the funeral of his departed brother William. They met the cortege at the Bridge of Perth and journeyed thence to the newly erected Abbey of Arbroath, where the remains of William "the Lion" were laid to rest.

When Fotheringhay was seized, and became the property of the English crown, the earl retired to Yardley, now Yardley Hastings, a few miles distant. Here he died at the ripe age of seventy-five. Before his death he expressed the wish that he might be taken down to his own Abbey of Lindores and buried there, but his wish was not complied with. He was interred in the Abbey of Sawtrey, not far from where he breathed his last. An ancestral relative of his founded Sawtrey. It has fared even worse than his own, since everything but the name has disappeared, and even the site is forgotten.

The interest that the Earl of Huntingdon took in the Abbey of Lindores was shown in a very practical way. Two of his charters give "to the church of Saint Mary and Saint Andrew of Lindores, and the monks there serving God, the island of Redinche (Mugdrum) and all the fishings in the Tay adjoining the said island except one, viz., a yair at Colcrik," and the "right of taking stone from his quarry in Irneside, both for their church and other buildings."

His relations with his own burgh of Dundee were of a close nature. It was, during his time, a centre of the armour-making industry, in which the earl was specially interested. There is little doubt that he had a house or residence near the present High Street. A charter dated in the year

A.D. 1496 alludes to "le Erle David, Huntlintoune Haw," in "Chakkar-raw" (Thorter Row).

David, Earl of Huntingdon, figures as a crusader in Sir Walter Scott's novel "The Talisman," but who is to tell of him as a Scottish prince disposing of his serfs, supervising armour-making, and otherwise acting like the loyal, devoted brother that he was? Doubtless the majestic river Tay was as familiar to him as it is to the present dwellers on its borders. Many a voyage had he made between Perth and Dundee, landing often at the pier of Lindores Abbey to watch the progress that skilful masons were making with the building, and to converse with the abbot, Guy. That was 700 years ago, but each headland and the general physical outline would be much the same as they are to-day.

As already stated, Abbot Guido or Guy died on the same day as the founder. He ruled the Abbey, it is said, with a firm hand, and left behind him in the convent twenty-six monks, all qualified for the duties incumbent on them. During his last moments "he exhorted the brethren to mutual charity, and, with his head leaning on the hand of one of the brethren, his countenance shadowing forth inward peace, he fell asleep in the Lord."

CHAPTER VII.

Abbots of Lindores—Valuable Gift to the Monks—Appointing a Vicar to Dundee—The Charter—Old Documents—Vanity of Monks—Curtailment of Privileges.

JOHN, one of the monks in the Abbey, was elected as successor to Guido. He held office for at least twenty-five years, but appears in no conspicuous way as an ecclesiastic, although he may have attended the Church council, held at Perth in 1222, called and presided over by a Papal legate, regarding which a bishop moved in the Scottish Parliament that neither this legate "nor any other legate hereafter" should be received into the kingdom—a motion which was approved of by the king and his estates.

Abbot John was witness, on 28th April 1244, in the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen, to a charter conveying the Church of Bourdyn (Bourtie) to the church and canons of St Andrews.

He was succeeded by Abbot Thomas, who is credited with being a person of great sanctity. He and the prior of the Abbey were appointed by Pope Alexander IV., A.D. 1257, to

settle a dispute between the monks of Reading in Berkshire as superiors of the priory of the Isle of May, regarding a tenement in North Berwick, decision in connection therewith being given in Conventual Church of St Andrews, 18th October 1261. It was during either the presidency of Thomas or his predecessor that the following gift was bestowed on the monks. Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland, gave the right of taking "two hundred cartloads of brushwood or heather; and as many peats as they require for the use of their house from that peatery which is called Menegre, in the moor of Kindelouch, none else having right to dig peats there without their permission; together with an acre of land to dry their peats on, and two acres on which to store their peats and heather, with pasturage for ten ewes and two kye for the use of the keeper of their fuel on the moor."

The peatery was first known as Monks' Moss, but the brethren called it in pious delight, "Our Lady's Bog." It was next changed to Ladybog. An important railway junction now occupies the place, and shortly before the railway station was erected it received its modern name, Ladybank.

Previous to his death in 1264, Roger de Quincy, "from motives of piety," presented the convent

with the patronage and revenues of the church of Cullessy (Collessie)—a grant confirmed by Pope Nicholas IV. on 13th December 1288.

Abbot Thomas, who died in 1273, was succeeded by John, formerly prior of the Abbey, whose tenure of office as abbot was brief, for he died the following year, and his remains were conveyed to Kelso Abbey for burial.

The monks of Lindores were not long settled in the monastery when they began to take a practical interest in Dundee, a town not far distant and visible eastwards across the waters of the Tay.

A statement having reference to the appointing by them of a vicar to this town was drawn up in 1224 by Gregory, Bishop of Brechin:—"Lest the pious gifts of the faithful should be disturbed, and walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, Turpin, Radulf, and Hugh, we hold ratified that donation which they made to the Abbot and Monks of Lundores, of the Church of Dunde, with the chapels and lands belonging thereto, conferring upon them also the full and free administration of all the revenues of the said Church, and that they, on the demise of the vicar thereof, may lawfully present whomsoever they may think worthy of the cure of souls, assigning to him ten pounds sterling of yearly stipend, that he may minister competently and fitly in the church; he being

answerable with regard to episcopal matters both to the Bishop and his officials.

"Granting to the said Abbot and Convent liberty to plant schools wherever they please in the said town. That these things may remain firm and stable, we have placed our seal to this present writing.

"Witnesses. — Sir G., Abbot and Convent of Abirbrothot; Sir W., Abbot and Convent of Scone; Sir Alexander, Abbot of Cupar; Masters H. and H. of Norham and Munros; Andrew, Chaplain of Brechin; M., Prior of the Culdees of Brechin; and John, our Clerk, with many others."

The grants, made by the founder and other royal personages to the Abbey, were supplemented from time to time by gifts of various kinds from those of humbler rank. Roger de Quincy, as has been shown, gave the Moss of Kinloch, while Isabella de Brous handed over her "land of Cragyn, near Dunde, with all her land in the town of Melneton, and in the town of Abraham (villa Abrahe)."

A charter of David de Haya affords a fair idea of the style of these documents and the reasons which prompted the donors to bestow worldly goods on the Abbey. It is as follows:— "Piscaria in Tay, A.D. 1189-1237. David de Haya. Know me to have given by this present charter, to God, and to the Church of Saint Mary

and Saint Andrew of Lundores [etc.], for the welfare of the souls of my father and mother, of my own soul, and those of my wives Ethina and Crua, and for the welfare of the souls of my brothers and sisters, my predecessors and successors, the third part of my draw-net fishing upon the sand-bank over against Colcrick, saving my stake-net fishings. Therefore I will that the foresaid monks should hold the third part of my draw-net fishings on the sand-bank of Blasbannyn (Clashbennie), opposite Colcrik. To be held freely [etc.], so that none of my successors should presume to exact from the said monks anything else but prayers for the welfare of the soul. Witnesses—Gilbert, my son; Robert de Hay, Malcolm de Hay, my brothers; Thomas Gy, Patrick the Chaplain."

The first arrangement for the vicar of Dundee not giving satisfaction to all concerned, a fresh agreement was entered into between the Bishop of Brechin and the monks:—"Admissio Willelme de Mydford ad vicariam de Dunde, A.D. 1252. Albin, bishop of Brechin. Know [etc.]. When the Abbot and Convent of Lundoris presented William Mydford to the vicarage of the church of Dunde, we admitted him under reservation to us of the taxation of the said vicarage; and the Monday before Lent, in the year 1252, having been assigned to the said Abbot and

Convent and the said Master William for making taxation. The said parties having appeared before us on the day fixed, and the revenues of the said church having been assigned to the said Abbot and Convent and the said Master William for making taxation. The said parties having appeared before us on the day fixed, and the revenues of the said church having been diligently considered by upright men, we ordain, in name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that the said vicar should receive the whole altarage in name of vicarage, rendering therefrom ten merks yearly at Easter to the said Abbot and Convent. In testimony of this we have put our seal to these letters patent."

It may not be out of place here to note that the monks in Scotland were by Pope Innocent IV. in 1244 granted permission to use caps or bonnets owing to the coldness of the climate. These they might wear, except during the reading of the gospels and the elevation of the *Host*, when all heads had to be uncovered and a due reverence shown. To protect them from the cold they also wore long coats, made of skins, called "pelliceæ." As these skins through the course of time became bare and unsightly, linen tunics were adopted and worn during services, and were called "superpelliceæ"—hence the name "surplice."

The monks, and nuns as well, of those far-off

times were not devoid of personal vanity, as the use of something more than these skins proved. Throughout the country they began even to sport gaudy coverings of beautiful and costly furs. This led to a curtailment of privileges, for in 1200 it was decided, at a Church council held at London, that lamb, cat, and fox skins were the only kinds to be used. An inventory was afterwards made at the various abbeys, when it was found that the monks of Lindores were orthodox in their inclinations, and had faithfully conformed to the new regulation, for no skins of a heretical nature were discovered in their establishment.

CHAPTER VIII.

King and Clergy *v.* Pope—Prince Alexander's Death—Succession to the Crown—The King of England's Claims.

KING Alexander III., while on one of his regular circuits in administering justice throughout his kingdom, visited Lindores Abbey on 14th March 1265, accompanied by Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland, and William, Earl of Mar, Great Chamberlain. This good king in two charters granted "to the Abbot and Convent their whole wood in the fee of Fyntreth," and "their whole wood with the lands of Lindoris in free forestry."

A proof was given during this king's reign that the Scottish clergy were jealous of the rights of their Church, and were determined that its independence was not to be trifled with. The Papal legate in England, "Sanctus Adrianus," afterwards Pope Adrian V., intimated his intention to visit Scotland to enquire into its ecclesiastical state, but Alexander refused him permission to enter the kingdom. The legate thereupon sum-

moned the Scottish bishops to attend him in England, but they declined the invitation, and sent a deputation to confer with him regarding his mission. The deputation consisted of two bishops, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and John, one of the monks of Lindores. These prelates withstood, on behalf of their brethren, the Papal legate's demands, and simply treated with contempt an invitation sent to the Scottish clergy to attend a council to be held at York (1268). They informed the legate that the canons of such a council would be altogether ignored by them on the strength of a concession granted in 1225 by the Papal court.

The concession referred to permitted the clergy in Scotland to meet in general council on their own authority without the mandate of a legate or the summons of a metropolitan; even canon law from the Vatican was not put in force after that grant unless ratified by a native council. This concession was of use on other occasions, notably once when the Pope demanded a tenth of the benefices of the Scottish clergy. They refused point blank to comply with such a request.

About the time when an abbot named Nicholas was appointed, the Abbey was chosen on account of its pleasant situation and the salubrity of the district as the residence of an illustrious patient in the person of Prince

Alexander, son of Alexander III., and heir to the throne of Scotland. This prince was not long married (1282) when he was seized with illness. He took up his abode in Lindores Abbey, but the change failed to effect a cure, and after lingering for a few months he expired here in January 1283-4. His body was carried to the abbey church of Dunfermline for burial amid a nation's lamentations. But the regrets of the Scottish people over the death of the prince had not ceased when a greater blow fell upon them. One dark night (16th March 1286), while the king himself rode between Kinghorn and Burntisland, on a visit to his wife, his horse stumbled over a cliff, and he was instantly killed. The season being Lent, certain parties of a superstitious tendency regarded his fate as a divine judgment for sacrilege. The nation was thrown into a state of profound grief when the news spread, for dearly the people loved their wise, just, and capable ruler and administrator. His able generalship at the battle of Largs, and victory over Haco of Norway, in 1263, secured to Scotland the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. Henceforth the Vikings turned the prows of their vessels no more thitherward in search of spoil or conquest. During Alexander's reign the whole kingdom had advanced wonderfully in civilization and importance. What added greatly to the

national bereavement was the absence of a direct heir to the Scottish throne.

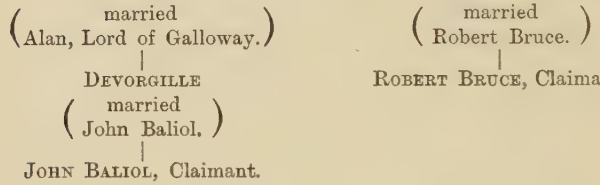
The government of the country was soon in a pitiful plight; jealousy and sinister scheming became rampant among the powerful barons, while the king of England seized the opportunity afforded him to endeavour to force a sovereignty over Scotland, which the inhabitants were not slow to resent. Then began that sturdy struggle for Scottish independence which was to end nearly thirty years afterwards in the memorable battle of Bannockburn, 24th June 1314.

The Abbey of Lindores played a part in the proceedings of that fateful period; but, even if it had not done so, if it had only existed as a quiet out of the way monastery, it is worthy of notice, for here, in front of its high altar, lay buried two children, sons of David, Earl of Huntingdon. Had these boys lived, their offspring would have been the undoubted heirs to the Scottish throne, and the King of England could have found no valid excuse, such as he had, for interfering with Scottish affairs.

On the death, in 1290, of the Maid of Norway, a girl of eight years, grand-daughter of Alexander III., a number of persons laid claim to the crown of Scotland. The real rivalry, however, lay between John Baliol and Robert Bruce.

The relation of these two claimants to each

other and to the founder of Lindores Abbey was as follows:—



It can thus be seen that the difficulty lay in deciding whether a great-grandson descended from a first daughter or a grandson by a second daughter had the prior right.

Edward, King of England, put himself forward as judge or umpire in the matter, but before giving any decision he desired at special conferences, held at Norham on 10th May and 3rd June 1291, to be recognised as Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland.

In pursuance of this claim he entered Scotland, and on 23rd July made his first visit to Lindores Abbey, when it is recorded Abbot John, Sir William of Fenton, and Sir Simon of Fraser "touched the host, kissed the gospel, and swore upon the great altar of the Abbey Church allegiance to Edward."

Two years later (1293) John Baliol, the occupant of the Scottish throne—who was merely the puppet

of the King of England—also visited the Abbey, accompanied by John Comin, Earl of Buchan, Constable of Scotland, Alexander de Baliol, Chamberlain, and other attendants.

Edward of England, still pursuing a high-handed policy, came to Scotland in 1296, and effected the complete humiliation of Baliol, who in Angus, on 10th July, resigned the crown of Scotland into Edward's hands. The following notice of Edward's progress shows that the village of Markinch, now famed for its prodigies of various kinds, was then conspicuously insignificant:—"On Monday (6th August) he was at Dundee; on Tuesday at Balingerny, the red castle; on Wednesday at Perth; on Thursday at the Abbey of Lindores; and there he remained the Friday, St Laurence's day (10th August). On Saturday he was at the city of St Andrews, a castle and a good town; on Sunday at Markinch, where are only the minster and three houses. On Monday he was at the Abbey of Dunfermline, where nearly all the kings of Scotland lie, and," it is added, "he conquered the realm of Scotland and searched it, as is above written, within twenty-one weeks, withat any more."

It was during this triumphal journey that Edward laid hold on the regalia of the Scottish monarchs, and seized at Scone a block of red sandstone.

These trophies he despatched to England, and the stone has ever since been looked upon as the Lia Fail, or famous Stone of Destiny. Had his depredations ended with the appropriation of these baubles, he might have been forgiven even by Scotsmen; but, in addition, he committed irreparable damage to Scotland's ancient national charters. What of these would serve his purpose he carried away; many of the others he mutilated and destroyed, smashing and tearing away their seals.

A few years previous he had caused David, a patriotic Welsh Prince, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and, lest the people of that country might hear again of their former freedom and glory, he ordered the bards who knew their martial songs to be gathered together and murdered. His aim while in Scotland was the same, namely, to destroy proofs of independence and nation-hood, which interfered with his own ambition. On the eve of his departure from Scotland he held a parliament at Berwick on 28th August, and amongst those who attended and swore fealty to him was Thomas, Abbot of Lindores.

CHAPTER IX.

Scotland in Subjection—English Insolence and Scottish Patriotism —Wallace—Bruce—The Clergy Espouse the National Cause.

THE oppressive measures adopted by King Edward in dealing with Scotland aroused ere long the people to a sense of their humiliated position, and inspired them with an eager desire to throw off the English yoke. William Wallace was the first to resent English insolence and stand up for national rights. The story goes that while young Wallace was staying in Dundee, attending, it is believed, one of the schools kept by the Lindores monks, an Englishman taunted him in such a way that in a fury he drew a dagger and slew the tormentor. An affray of a similar nature is stated as having taken place in Lanark between Wallace and an English officer. Wallace was soon in flight for his life, and sought refuge in the dens and caves of the country. Here he was joined by patriots from all parts, and operations against the English began. Sudden and fierce attacks were made upon the English soldiers,

quartered within the realm, whenever an opportunity was seen that promised success. This method led to a bolder step being taken when the Standard of Scottish Independence was raised.

The valour of the Scots had a fitting reward, and in an assembly of barons held at Torphichen on the 29th March 1298 Wallace was able to bestow rewards on several of his friends and fellow-soldiers for their patriotic exertions in the great national cause.

His early association with Dundee had evidently inspired some of its citizens with a patriotism equal to his own, for amongst the honours conferred was that of Constable of Dundee on Alexander Skirmisher or Scrymgeour and his heirs "for his faithful services in bearing the royal banner of Scotland," granted "with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility." About the same time the lands of Dudhope, close to Dundee, were gifted to Scrymgeour. The document conferring these lands is said to be the oldest original parchment preserved in the archives of Scotland, and bears the signature of Wallace as Guardian of Scotland.

On the 12th of June 1298 Wallace and a number of his adherents had a severe brush with the enemy immediately to the east of the Abbey of Lindores, possibly within hearing of its inmates. Again, two years later, near Lindores, a battle

was fought between the English and Scots, at which Wallace was present—battle of Dilliecarrow (1300). An ancient rhymer tells us, in reference to one or other of these encounters:—

"To Fife he marched that country state to view,
With his good men that trusty were and true;
But Sir John Psewart from the Ochil high,
Espying Wallace as he passed by,
All on a sudden 'gainst him marched then
To Black-Iron-side with fifteen hundred men."

After a prolonged engagement—

"The worthy Scots go into the barrier,
Wash all their wounds, refresh, and make good cheer.
'At many bouts,' said Wallace, 'I have been,
But such a fierce attack have scarcely seen!'
Then from a strand of water running by
He all his men supplied abundantly,
Drank first himself, then said in sober mood,
'The wine in France I ne'er thought half so good.'"

The Scots were afterwards reinforced, and on the fight being renewed the English were defeated, when—

"Ruthven for Perth, to march he ready makes,
And Sir John Ramsay Coupar Castle takes,
Wallace, and Crawford, Guthrie, Longoveil,
With Richard takes Lundores that night to beil."

There is a strong probability that the Abbey is here referred to as the place of shelter, since Blind Harry in his account gives the additional information that—

> "Of meit and drynk thai fand aboundantle,
> The priour fled, and durst na reknyng bid—
> He was befor apon the tother syde."

On the other hand, a possible place of shelter, rather than the Abbey, may have been the Castle of Lindores, the foundations of which were discovered last century on a ridge near the loch.

The heroic deeds, cruel betrayal, and death of Wallace are familiar to all. While being dragged to the place of execution, which took place at London on 23rd August 1305, an incident occurred which perhaps affords a clue to the secret of his nobility of character, if not to his whole-hearted patriotism. There fell from his bosom a copy of the Psalms of David, a gift from his mother which was his companion in all his wanderings. After the removal of Wallace a worthy successor took the field against the southern oppressors. Robert Bruce, the young Earl of Carrick, and grandson of John Baliol's rival, laid claim to the crown of Scotland. Excepting the common people, few gave him their support or appeared to favour his claims. There were, however, notable exceptions amongst those

of high rank and position in the country. Sir James Balfour records as follows:—"This yeire (1306) there was a mutuall endenture made between Sir Gilbert Haye of Erol, and Sir Neill Campbell of Lochaw, and Sir Alexander Setton, knights, at the Abbey of Londors, to defend the King Robert Bruce and his Crowne to the last of their bloodes and fortunes, upon the sealling of the said endenture they solemnly toke the sacrament at St Marie's Altar in the said Abbey Church."

We find the clergy also espousing the cause of Bruce. At a general national council held in the church of the Minorites, Dundee, on 24th February 1309, they issued a declaration to all the faithful to the effect that seeing the kingdom of Scotland betrayed, enslaved, and left without a leader, they had assumed Robert Bruce for their sovereign, and had willingly done homage to him in that character. After giving the reasons that impelled them to maintain that Bruce and his heirs were entitled to the throne, it concludes:—

"Wherefore, we, the aforesaid Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and remnant Clergy, knowing these things to be confirmed truths, and heartily approving them, have made our fealties to the said Lord Robert, our illustrious King, and we hereby acknowledge and profess that the like is due hereafter by our successors, to him and his heirs;

and in sign, testimony, and approbation of all and sundry, the premisses, we, being neither compelled, seduced, nor misled, but freely of our own accord have hereto set our seals."

Unfortunately the seals set to this important document are now awanting, saving a few fragments that afford no clue to the various monasteries and religious houses represented at the great council.

CHAPTER X.

Trial by Jury—Bannockburn—Scottish Nobles and the Pope—The Virgin Mary and Lindores Abbey: a Miracle—Sir David Lindsay—David II.—Edward Baliol—The Nation's Exchequer—the Convent's Exchequer.

IT is not known when, or by whom, the system of trial by jury was introduced into Scotland. "The twelve good men and true" are referred to during the reign of William "the Lion," and the right of "challenge" appears to have been then conceded. An instance of this took place at a trial held in the Chapter House of Lindores Abbey in 1309. A dispute had arisen between Abbot Thomas and the burgesses of Newburgh regarding the payment of the brewhouse tax to the convent. Robert de Keith was deputed to hold an inquest for the purpose of effecting a settlement. The court met on the Thursday before the Feast of St Peter (29th June). Bishop Lamberton, St Andrews, and the Abbot of Arbroath were present. When the names of the jurymen were called, the burgesses objected to Andrew Gray, because he was a servant of the

abbot. This objection was sustained, and another juryman selected. The decision was in favour of the convent.

A few months after the battle of Bannockburn a Scots parliament was held in Cambuskenneth Abbey, when Abbot Thomas, agreeable to summons, journeyed from Lindores, and with others affixed his seal to the statute then enacted, holding and declaring that all who did not come into "the peace of the king (Robert Bruce) and acknowledge him as their sovereign would be held as traitors and their estates confiscated."

At the instigation of the King of England the thunders of the Papacy were about this time directed against the Scottish nation and its chosen king. In connection with this circumstance a protest was drawn up in the Abbey of Arbroath, and subscribed to by the Scottish nobles, informing the Pope that "if his Holiness continued to show favour to England at the expense of Scotland he would be answerable to the Most High for all the blood, loss of souls, and other calamities that would follow; and that while one hundred Scotsmen remained alive they would fight for the liberty and independence of their country." Sir Gilbert Haye, who, as already shown, vowed in Lindores Abbey to support Bruce, was one of the barons who subscribed to this famous document. It is to such men that Scotland owes its

freedom. Sir Gilbert led a thousand horsemen on the field of Bannockburn, and is described as "a brave old knight." He was created High Constable of Scotland. His death took place in 1330, and he was buried in the Abbey of Coupar-Angus.

In this year a remarkable event is reported to have taken place at the Abbey. The Virgin Mary, in whose honour the Abbey was built, it is alleged, either visited the Abbey in person or by some undefined means afforded the monks a proof of her regard for them in return for their devotion to her. If the incident rises to the height of a miracle, it was so successfully performed that he must be a sorry sceptic indeed who would seek to deny it. Balfour in his MSS. gives the following account:—"This place was wearie (very) famous of old for the hudge number of serpentis in it without stinges, creeping about men's bodies without harming of them at all; the wearie (very) sleeping chalmers of the monks being full of them. How they engendered heir in suche aboundance, and how they wair destroyed, tak a memorandum of ane abbot of this place (as he himself callis it) wreitten in his awin Legir booke, as it is extant by me—'Memorandum that in the zeir of our Lordis nativitie 1316, this place was sore affrayed with hudge swarmes of stintes aderes (adders) that bred in a great heap

of draff that had layand at the great entrie that luikes to the towne of Newburgh, and that for many zeiris; we war fred (freed) of them by the help of the Blissed Virgine Marie, our glorious patroness, in the zeir 1330, having tormentit them with both watter and fyre.'"

This memorandum from the "Legir booke" of the Abbey affords a strong argument in favour of the saying "that heaven helps those who help themselves."

The name of the abbot who made the entry was possibly Adam, who succeeded Thomas, for in the following year he is witness to a charter of John of Dundemor, conveying to the monks of Balmerino the right to the water which ran through the lands of Dunberanch (Dunbarny), near Abernethy, for the use of their mill at Petgornach.

Adam may also have welcomed to the Abbey Sir David Lindsay, another of the barons who signed in Arbroath Abbey the letter to the Pope, and who, after a long active public career, retired to the seclusion of the monastery to pass the remainder of his days in peaceful meditation. King Robert Bruce, of whom Sir David was a true and trusted friend, bestowed on him a hereditary annual rent of 100 merks, then a large sum, from the Great Customs of Dundee. A charter dated at the Abbey 19th November 1355 intimates that Sir David "mortified," as it was

termed, "two marks annually out of the lands of Pethfour, near Cairnie, in the parish of St Madoes, for the maintenance of a wax-light to be kept burning throughout all future time at the tomb where the Lady Mary, his late wife, lay buried, and where he hoped to be laid beside her, in the choir of the Abbey Church of Londors, for the benefit of both their souls." It may here be remarked that Lady Mary was descended from the lay Culdee abbots of Abernethy, a family of great antiquity, and the superiors of a large extent of territory bestowed on the early Scottish Church by Pictish kings, probably as an endowment to the college at Abernethy.

King David II., son and successor of King Robert Bruce, occupied the Abbey on 3rd August 1365, on which occasion he confirmed Sir David Lindsay's charter. Previous to this, in 1350-1, his name appears as one of the witnesses to a charter which bestows the church of Auchtermuchty on Lindores Abbey, granted by Duncan, Earl of Fife, out of gratitude for his escape from death at the battle of Durham, and subsequent deliverance from captivity. David II. once celebrated Christmas in the Abbey of Lindores, and on leaving performed one of his characteristically mean tricks by not paying the expenses incurred by the convent on his behalf. The Sheriff of Fife paid for the royal festivities, and was not refunded the amount till

after the king's death. It would be no light matter to meet these expenses if David travelled, as he did in 1343, accompanied by forty attendants, and his queen with another sixty, all on horseback. The retinues of the Scottish kings during the times of which we write were quartered in abbeys or with the parochial clergy; and sometimes even neighbouring farmers had to provide accommodation in agreement with the terms on which they held their land.

It was during the reign of David II. that Edward Baliol usurped the throne, aided by Edward III. of England. Baliol submitted himself to Edward, and the latter entered Scotland to quell the supporters of David. Perth was ordered to be fortified by the English king about 1335, "with gates and towers of hewn stone, at the charges of the monasteries of St Andrews, Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerinoch, Aberbrothock, and Coupar in Angus. There were three towers and three great gates—a tower over each gate." It is recorded that these monasteries were ruined by the enormous expenses. David II. was utterly incapable of governing Scotland. There was nothing but bad management on every hand. The people, instead of being at liberty to cultivate the ground, were often driven to feed on wild herbs and nuts. This arose from the incessant disturbances of contending parties, and from the fact that robbery, fire-

raising, and even murders took place with impunity. So scandalous was the situation that a Parliament was held at Scone on 27th Sept. 1367 to consider the condition of the kingdom, and to devise means to replenish an empty exchequer. William of Angus, who succeeded Adam as Abbot at Lindores, attended this Parliament as a clerical member.

The exchequer of the convent, doubtless for reasons already indicated, was about this time in as low a condition as that of the nation. The monks had even gone the length of borrowing, and Abbot William's name appears in connection with a charter (1355-7) in favour of David Aberkirder, conveying annual rents from various properties in the town of Dundee by the abbot and convent until the sum of 40 merks sterling, which he had advanced for the use of the monastery, was repaid. This charter was confirmed by King Robert III. on 23rd March (1392-3).

CHAPTER XI.

Robert III. — The Duke of Albany — Prince David, Duke of Rothesay : his Imprisonment and Death : Buried in Lindores Abbey.

OF Abbot Roger, who succeeded William of Angus, little is known. After him came John Steele, who previous to his appointment as Abbot of Lindores had been Prior of Coldingham.

The daily round of duties in the monastery, and the quiet life which the monks doubtless led there during the latter part of the fourteenth century, must have been in marked contrast to life at the Scottish court, where one of those family feuds peculiar to court life in the middle ages was in full swing, and was to end in a strangely tragic manner. Robert III. was a feeble ruler, and greatly under the influence of his brother, the Earl of Fife, afterwards created Duke of Albany. Between the king's son David, Duke of Rothesay—the first on whom the title of duke was bestowed in Scotland—and the Duke of Albany rivalry existed. Albany was ambitious, designing, and unscrupulous ;

the prince was frank, generous, and brave, and, although young, showed great sagacity in the management of the public affairs with which he was entrusted. Unfortunately he became addicted to fast living and licentious conduct. Albany and his supporters watched for a favourable opportunity to secure the king's consent to place the prince under restraint. He was inveigled into Fife, arrested, and taken prisoner to St Andrews; thence he was conveyed, enveloped in a russet coat, and mounted on a cart horse, to the royal palace of Falkland, and thrust into a dungeon.

There are doubts as to the actual cause of the prince's death, which took place soon after. Several historians agree in asserting that he came to an untimely end through heartless cruelty, being suffered to remain without food under the charge of two ruffians, named Wright and Selkirk, whose task it was to watch the agony of their victim till it ended in death. It is stated that for a while the wretched prisoner was preserved in a remarkable manner by the kindness of a daughter of the governor of the castle, who, in passing through the garden, was attracted by his groans to the grated window of his dungeon, which was level with the ground, and so became acquainted with his story. It was her custom to provide him with food by dropping small cakes through the grating. She was discovered in this act of mercy

and put to death, her relentless father regarding her conduct as perfidy to him. This did not deter another tender-hearted female engaged in the family as a wet nurse from stealing under cover of night and supplying the unfortunate young man with milk from her own breast, which was conveyed to him through a long reed. Wright and Selkirk, suspecting from his appearance that he had still some secret supply, lay in wait and detected the charitable visitant, and the prince was abandoned to his fate. When nature at last gave way, his body was found in a state too horrible to describe, and showed that in the extremity of hunger he had gnawed and torn his own flesh. Such is the popular version of the way he was treated in Falkland Palace. There is now, however, a disposition on the part of critical historians to call in question the veracity of this sensational story. Their contention is that he died of dysentery; consequently they agree with the verdict that freed his uncle from the grave accusation brought against him.

Andro Wyntoun, Prior of St Serf's Monastery, makes no allusion to cruelty in the following graceful lines of his "Cronykil":—

> "A thousand foure hundyr yere and twa,
> All before as ye herd done,
> Oure lord, the kingis eldest sone,

Suete and wertuous, yong and faire,
And his nerast lauchful ayre,
Honest, habill, and avenand,
Oure lord, oure prince, in all pleasand,
Cunnand into litterature,
A seymly persone in stature;
Schyre Davy, Duke of Rothsay,
Off Merche the seven and twentyd day,
Yauld his saule til his Creatoure,
His cors til halowit sepulture;
In Lundoris his body lyis,
His spirite in til Paradyis."

Immediately after his death instructions had been sent to the Abbot of Lindores to make preparations for receiving and burying the remains of the Duke. Although the proceedings connected with his burial have not been recorded, we can imagine such a scene as must have been enacted that night in the Abbey: the porter descending and unbarring the entrance door; monks in their black gowns and hoods standing silently by, or gliding here and there in the dim corridors, or casting dark uncouth shadows in the unsteady light of flickering torches. Then from the outside, possibly as the grey morning stole over the landscape, a coffin would be borne quietly in, conveyed through the court, and up the nave of the church to the choir, and there deposited with due ceremony in the rude sepulchre hastily prepared for it. Next

day the routine of the Abbey would be resumed as if nothing unusual had occurred, and centuries were to elapse before the grave of this heir to the Scottish throne was to be disturbed.

On being blamed for the death of the Duke of Rothesay, Albany demanded that a trial should be held. At the trial, which has been described as "a solemn farce," he was acquitted, receiving at the same time a *full remission*, drawn up under the king's seal. He was reinstated as governor of the kingdom, but proved himself unworthy of such a place of trust.

However great the faults of the Duke of Rothesay may have been, his untimely death did not go unlamented. His father, the king, in keeping with the beliefs of the age, made provision for the weal of his son's soul. A chaplain of St Salvator, in the parish church of Dundee, had five pounds from the customs of that town allowed yearly in exchequer to pray for the soul of the duke. For the same purpose Patrick of Inverpeffer granted the chaplain the third part of the lands of the Milton of Cragy, and of the lands of Westfield, which grant was confirmed by the king himself.

CHAPTER XII.

Laurence of Lindores, the Inquisitor—James Resby—Paul Crawar —Martyrs.

AN important official now appears in connection with Lindores, in the person of Laurence, one of the originators of St Andrews University—a man of ability, and whose enthusiasm for learning prompted him for several years to instruct, without remuneration, the students who attended the college. He is noticed in history as Abbot of Scone (1411), was Rector of Creich, Master of Arts, and in July 1432 was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

By this time Wickliffe, in England, had translated (between 1380 and 1389) the Bible into the common language of the people, and a glimmering of the light thus thrown upon the sacred narrative was reaching the far north. Knowing this, the head of the Romish system selected Laurence for a special duty—gave him instructions how to deal with gospel messengers, and appointed him Inquisitor for Heresy in Scotland.

Hitherto our notices of the official heads at Lindores, although of a limited nature, owing to the paucity of records relating to them, do not show that they were over-bigoted for the Pope, but rather that they identified themselves with the aspirations of the Scottish people, and even went the length of resisting Papal demands when against the interests of Scotland. But now we have come to one who is prepared to sacrifice everything in his desire to obey the mandates of the Roman Pontiff. We must observe, however, that Laurence in trying as he did to repress heresy was only doing what the kings of Scotland had engaged to do, for the coronation oath of Scotland "bound the king and his successors to do their utmost to root out of their kingdom and dominions all whom the Church should denounce as heretics." This promise was secured by the Pope in 1329 as the price for permitting the Bishop of St Andrews to anoint and crown the king. Previous to this, at his coronation, the king stood or sat upon the Lia Fail—"Stone of Destiny"—and was proclaimed without being anointed.

To return, however, to Laurence, the Pope's Inquisitor for Scotland. No sooner had James Resby, a reforming priest from England, essayed to preach Protestant doctrines than he was seized and arraigned before a council of the Church held at Perth under Laurence's supervision. He was

tried and condemned and burned at the stake that same year (1407). Resby was a man of commanding aspect; his eyes, it is said, seemed to burn with earnestness and zeal. A monk who wrote about his trial and death admits that "he was held in the highest reputation by the people for the symplicity of his preaching; but," he added, "his teaching contained most dangerous doctrines:— First, that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ; second, that no one is Pope or vicar of Christ except he be holy. He held forty doctrines similar, derived from Wycliff, an arch-heretic condemned at London, in England."

The death of this the first martyr for the truth in Scotland did not stop the spread of reforming opinions. To counteract them stringent measures were adopted and enforced. Masters of Art at St Andrews had to state under oath that they did not hold the opinions of the Lollards, as reformers were then called. In 1424 and 1425 the Scottish Legislature was taken up with enactments and laws to facilitate the hunting down and destroying of heretics within the realm. Notwithstanding this, a successor to Resby appeared in one Paul Crawar by name, a Bohemian physician, and Laurence had again to act in the interest of the Romish Church. An old chronicler says of Crawar that "it was reported he was sent by the Pragensian heretics of Bohemia, whose impious opinions

infested Scotland too much at that time, and was recommended by them as excellent in the art of medicine. Crawar was thoroughly conversant with sacred learning, and most apt in quoting the Holy Scriptures in support of his opinions; but though he pertinaciously held to the opinions of Prague and Wycliff, he was confuted by that venerable man Laurence of Lindores."

Tried for heresy at St Andrews on 23rd July 1433, Crawar was of course found guilty, condemned as an obstinate heretic, and like Resby made to suffer at the stake. There is something singularly touching in the story of this physician leaving far-off Bohemia—leaving those near and dear to his heart—and sojourning in a strange land, to pursue it might be his ordinary calling, but also eager to impart the vital truths of Christianity. Whilst engaged visiting and comforting his widely scattered patients, he is suddenly called on to stand his trial. Surrounded by enemies, he must have known too well their determination, and what the sentence would be when handed over to the secular power, at that time the tool of the Church.

CHAPTER XIII.

Growth of the Popish Church—James of Rossy Abbot—Arrangement between the Convent and the Burgesses of Dundee—Abbot John—Patrick Graham—Their Attempt to Reform the Church.

IN the fifteenth century the Church of Rome was in the zenith of its power, and nowhere more so than in Scotland. Here its religious houses were in every district, and their endowments embraced land amounting to more than a third of the country. The energy and bustle of the period were felt at Lindores. Monks passed to and fro between the Abbey and its outlying possessions, while the convent's obligations and necessities kept still on the increase; and we find it once more under favourable consideration at the court of the king. For services rendered, the sovereign, James II. (1437-1460), grants it "his lands of Parkhill, and also the office of forestry of his wood of Ironside, lying in the lands of Parkhill in Fyfe."

And now Inquisitor Laurence has gone to his rest, and Abbot James, styled James of Rossy, presides.

While he was in office a difficulty arose regarding the dilapidated condition of the choir of the parish church, Dundee, the fabric of which the monks of Lindores were bound to maintain in return for the rights to the rectorial tithes. After consultation, an arrangement was entered into between the convent, on the one hand, and the provost and burgesses of Dundee on the other, by which the latter undertook the construction and reparation of the said choir; the monks on their part agreeing to allow the burgesses five merks yearly out of tenements belonging to them in Dundee. This agreement was made at Dundee in presence of the Bishop of Brechin on 10th March 1442-3. The annual rent was resigned by Sir John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee and bailie of the Monastery of Lindores, into the hands of William de Strathachyne, the provost, for behoof of the burgesses.

Abbot James of Lindores was one of the clergy who signed at Edinburgh, on 28th June 1445, the transumpt of the bull of Pope Gregory XI., disallowing the claim of the crown to the personal estates of deceased bishops, on the ground that "what was acquired through the Church should abide with the Church."

Another change at the Abbey, and a new abbot is elected, named John. Again the sovereign James II. confirms the right of the monks to the

lands of Parkhill, and renews their privileges of Ironside forest (1452). A few years after (1457) Abbot John grants a charter in favour of the burgesses of Newburgh, confirming ancient privileges. This charter is followed by a fresh grant of Vodrufe (Wodrife) and hill adjacent.

Abbot John was a man of good intentions, and may safely be regarded as a Church reformer. He commended and encouraged those of the brethren who read the service devoutly, and by the cultivation of sacred music led the praises of the congregation in the Abbey church most effectively.

The Abbot of Lindores was not alone in seeking reforms. His efforts were approved of by Patrick Graham, bishop of the diocese. Patrick was the son of Lord Graham, by his wife Mary, daughter of King Robert III., and was the first in Scotland on whom the high office of archbishop was conferred—an office which enabled him to summon at will a council of the Church without applying for Papal sanction. Unfortunately Patrick Graham's expressed desire for the removal of abuses in the Church, coupled with his elevation to the archiepiscopal throne, stirred angry and jealous feelings in the breasts of the other influential clergy.

At their instigation a Nuncio investigated certain charges preferred against him. The Nuncio found that Graham had blasphemed the Holy See, that

he had said he was chosen of God to reform the Church, and that he had revoked indulgences granted by the Pope, affirming that they had been granted for filthy lucre. For these offences he was deprived of all holy orders, and condemned to captivity within the walls of a monastery for life.

Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth, Dunfermline, and Lochleven were in turn his prisons. Worn out by many sufferings, his reason at last gave way. He died on St Serf's Inch, and was buried in the ancient graveyard of the island. His resting-place is unmarked and unknown, since all traces of the burial place that belonged to St Serf's venerable seat of learning have been blotted out by time's effacing fingers.

That attempts at reformation made by such men as Abbot John and Archbishop Graham were justified, existing records clearly prove. The leaven of apostacy in the Church was spreading rapidly. Corruptions in the ranks of the clergy had become general, while the ignorance of the preachers was such that the bulk of them resorted to mumbling over the services of the Church to prevent the congregations from noticing their stupid blunders.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Earl of Douglas—His Rebellion—His Capture—Consigned to Lindores Abbey for Life—His Tomb—Death of King James III.—The Convent Founds an Altar—Abbot Henry—Abbey Lands Erected into a Legality—Abbot Henry Resigns in Favour of John—Patrick Hamilton the Martyr—Sir John Borthwick.

ANDREW CAVERS was elevated to the dignity of Abbot of Lindores not later than 1476, in which year he granted a life-tack of the lands of Eglismagwl (Exmagirdle, in the parish of Dron) to George Muncrefe of Tybermollocke. During Andrew's term of office the Abbey became the prison of one of the most remarkable men of the period.

James, ninth Earl of Douglas and sixth Duke of Turenne, at an early age was goaded into rebellion by the base assassination of his brother, at the instance of King James II. Douglas, who belonged to perhaps the most powerful family in the kingdom, nailed a placard to the door of the Parliament House renouncing his allegiance. He declared war against his sovereign, and devoted his whole energies to active hostilities as a rebel

leader. After nearly a lifetime spent in this way he was wounded at Lochmaben (1484) during one of his incursions into the country. He surrendered to Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, who at one time had been his own vassal. It is related that Kirkpatrick wept when he saw his old master in such sorry plight, and even offered to join his cause and flee with him into England. But Douglas rejected the offer, resigned himself to his fate, and said he was weary of exile. No longer was his theme to be—

> "A steede, a steede of matchless speede,
> A sword of metal keene,
> All else to noble minds is dross,
> All else on earth is meane;
> And O the thundering press of knights,
> When loud their war cries swell,
> Might serve to call a saint from heaven
> Or rouse a fiend from helle."

Though there was little in Douglas's character but what might have called forth bitter resentment on the part of King James III., he at the same time, when he saw the aged rebel, remembered also his misfortunes, and leniently ordered him to be confined in the Monastery of Lindores for the remainder of his life. On hearing the sentence Douglas turned and with a grim smile used the proverb—"He that can do no better

must needs be a monk." His greeting to the brethren might well have been—

> "An old man, broken with the storms of State,
> Is come to lay his weary bones among ye."

He was not long in confinement when the enemies of the king wished him to espouse their cause, and aid them in their threatened rebellion. He, however, declined, and tried to dissuade the others from their designs. The king next solicited his support, but he playfully answered, alluding to the miserly disposition of James—"You have kept me and your black box too long under lock and key to be of any use to you."

Douglas died in the Abbey on the 15th of April 1488. His supposed tomb is in the south transept. It is probable, however, that his body was conveyed across the Tay and buried in the Abbey of Coupar in Angus, by order of his successor, the Red Douglas.

Two months after the death of Earl Douglas (on the 18th of June 1488) James III. was opposed at Sauchieburn by an army of rebels led by his own son. The king fled before the battle was over, and falling from his horse was murdered by a person who professed to be a priest. He was succeeded by James IV., who appointed Andrew, Abbot of Lindores, to the important position of keeper of Linlithgow Palace.

The founding of altars in the churches of burghs was of frequent occurrence. Like their brethren throughout the country, we find the monks of Lindores also engaged in this work. In 1490 they founded an altar in the Church of St John the Baptist, Perth, in honour of St Blasius, patron saint of the woolcombers, and whose festival was 3rd February. They endowed it with ten pounds fifteen shillings yearly out of the Abbey property in Perth. In 1498 Andrew Cavers, the abbot, moreover provided thirteen shillings and fourpence to pay chaplains and choristers of St John's for celebration of the service for the dead, 3rd November, to be paid yearly.

One named Henry succeeded Andrew, and presided over the convent from 1502 till 1528-9. In his time the Abbey lands and possessions were erected into a regality—Regality of Lindores. This was confirmed by Parliament a few months after fatal Flodden (1513). This concession gave the abbot exclusive criminal jurisdiction and almost regal power over every person resident within the bounds of the convent's property. Newburgh was the chief burgh of the regality, and at its cross proclamations affecting the whole regality were issued. In its Tolbooth "sumoundis were maid againis any person dwelling within the regality."

Abbot Henry resigned in favour of John in March 1522, but continued to exercise the usual

judicial functions connected with the office, and so took part in the trial of the martyr Patrick Hamilton, and signed his condemnation. Patrick Hamilton appears to have been the first native who suffered martyrdom for reformed principles in Scotland. He was the great-grandson by both parents of James II. While yet a lad the title of Abbot of Fearne was conferred upon him. He showed great ability in his learning. When fourteen years old he went to Paris, afterwards returning to St Andrews to prosecute his theological studies. Fond of music, and on terms of friendship with the Church officials, a composition of his was allowed to be performed in the cathedral service. Nevertheless he was early suspected of having heretical opinions, and either to avoid the consequences that might follow upon an inquiry, or in order to fortify his mind in regard to certain religious convictions, he left Scotland for the Continent. Arriving in Germany, then under the influence of Luther's fateful struggle with Popery, Hamilton became acquainted with the great reformer and his comrade Melancthon. The latter commended him to the care of Francis Lambert of Avignon, an ex-Franciscan monk, a powerful advocate for reformation, and who presided at the time over the college of Marburg. Here the young Scotsman soon mastered the great points of controversy between the Romish and the Pro-

testant champions. An irresistible desire to visit the land of his birth caused him to return to Scotland in 1527. He began to address the people, and soon drew immense crowds, who listened with eager delight to his winning eloquence. Being prudent in his public discourses, his enemies were unable to lay hold on his words. A base scheme, however, was devised to entrap him, and in the cathedral church of St Andrews, on 29th February 1528-9, he was called upon to answer for certain heretical opinions. The building was crowded, but he boldly maintained his views, and said to the traitor who had wormed himself into his confidence, and was now his accuser—"Brother, I have never read in the Scripture of God of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that may purge the souls of men but the blood of Christ Jesus, which ransom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in soul mass, nor in dirigie, nor in gold, nor in silver, but only by repentance of sins and faith in the blood of Christ Jesus."

Without delay sentence was pronounced against Hamilton. In haste he was marched that same afternoon, guarded, for fear of rescue, by several thousands of armed men, from the cathedral to the place of execution near the gate of St Salvator's College, and there burnt at the stake.

The ecclesiastics dispersed, and Abbot Henry returned to Lindores, possibly imagining like the

majority of his brethren that what had just taken place would put a stop to the spread of the detested heresy. A greater mistake could not have been made, for "the smoke of Mr Patrick Hamilton had infected as many as it blew upon." The people made more enquiries than before regarding the doctrines preached by Hamilton; friars and priests in the Church began to have a partiality for them; dignified clerics became alarmed; statutes made by the legislature against the importation of printed books or works of the great heretic Luther and his disciples were found to be of no avail; and resort was had to increased severity against those who sold and those who read the Scriptures in their native tongue.

Abbot John, in whose favour Henry had resigned, attended a meeting of churchmen in the cloisters of St Andrews, held on the 28th May 1540, to sit in judgment on Sir John Borthwick, for having the New Testament in his possession, and for circulating heretical books. Borthwick had, however, fled to England, but the trial went on. He was condemned in absence, and his effigy was burnt. While in England Borthwick was employed by Henry VIII., who despatched him abroad on certain important Protestant missions. He survived the burning of his effigy many years —returned to St Andrews — obtained reversal of his sentence, and died there finally in peace.

CHAPTER XV.

Abbot John and the Reformation — Efforts of Ecclesiastics to Reform the Church—Heretical Books—The People resent the Religious Practices of the Clergy—Their Treatment of Images and Relics—Humorous Proceedings in Dundee and Perth—Cardinal Beaton and the Perth Delinquents—He turns on George Wishart—Wishart's Death—Retribution.

JOHN presided over the convent from the time of his accepting office in 1522 till the Reformation was effected in 1560. Previous to his becoming abbot, he was a monk and presbyter. His surname was Philip, and it is believed that he was a native of the district. He was coadjutor and administrator of the Abbey of Kelso during the minority of its commendator, Lord James Stewart, natural son of James V., and is described as an "excellent and tried man." In 1540 and subsequent years he had a seat in Parliament, and was probably present in 1543 when liberty to read the Scriptures was conceded to the people. In 1544 he was one of the Lords of Session, and in 1549, as Abbot of Lindores, sat in the General Convention and Provincial Council of the Church, held in the refectory of the Blackfriars, Edinburgh.

The reformation of the lives and manners of the clergy engaged the attention of this council, and a great many canons were enacted. "Heretical books, especially poems and ballads against the Church and clergy, were also to be diligently sought after and burned." The works of George Buchanan and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount were doubtless referred to by these clerics. Previous to this, in 1540, the Parliament of which Abbot John was a member had decreed against the demolition of the shrines and images of the saints, leaving us to infer that even then the hatred and destruction of idols, which broke out with irresistible fury a few years later, had taken possession of certain classes of the community. There were evidences too that the people had decided objections to the religious practices of the Romish clergy. These objections were expressed in various ways—by interruptions in church during service, by irreverent remarks, by contempt for images, by seizing of images and precious relics and trampling them under foot. Sometimes even the sportive and grotesque element was aroused, which gave an additional relish to the proceedings. In 1536, for example, two men in accord, who had a grudge against the Grey friars of Dundee, went one night in September to their monastery, and pulling down from its pedestal an image of Saint Francis, placed a rope round its neck and

swung it up over the gateway. Here the image was discovered next morning. A hue and cry was raised over the sacrilegious act, and an order obtained to search for all suspected persons. It was believed that the delinquents had fled to Perth (St Johnstoun), but there is no reference to a capture having been effected.

In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under date 25th September 1536, there is an entry specifying a payment of twenty shillings "to James Bisatt, messenger, to pass with letters to the Provost and Bailies of Dundee and Sanct Johnstoun to search and seek John Blacat and George Luwett, suspect of the hanging of the image of Sanct Francis."

The townsmen of Perth had evidently become infected with the humour of the Dundee worthies, which, however, in one instance brought serious results upon themselves. During the month of May 1543, strained relations, which had existed for some time between the men of Perth and the Black friars, reached a height. The townsmen in their desire for revenge attacked the residence of the brethren and forced an entrance. After wreaking vengeance they ended their visit by lifting the monks' huge kailpot with its contents off the kitchen fire, and paraded it through the streets in rollicking triumph. About the same time a trick, similar to that perpetrated in Dundee,

was played on a wooden image of Saint Francis, but on this occasion the Franciscans' patron was decorated by having affixed to him a ram's horns and a cow's tail! The perpetrators were arrested and imprisoned with other defaulters in the Spey Tower. Five men, along with the wife of one of them, were brought for trial before Cardinal Beaton, formerly Abbot of Arbroath, and who had presided at the trial of Patrick Hamilton.

The offences of these six persons were:—Robert Lamb—disputed on the Scriptures; Helen Stark, his wife—refused to pray to the Virgin Mary when in child-bed, and said that she would only pray to God in the name of the Saviour; James Ronald, William Anderson, and James Finlayson—had affixed a ram's horns and a cow's tail to an image of Saint Francis, and then hung it up by means of a rope round its neck. They had besides eaten a goose on All-Hallow-e'en. Ronald's artistic inclinations had also induced him to "set upon the end of his forestair the three-cornered diadem of Peter, carved of tree, which the Cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat." James Hunter, flesher, offended by "haunting the company of the others," and from his occupation was suspected of supplying the adornments to Saint Francis.

The result of the trial was that these persons were all found guilty and condemned to death.

Next day, Friday, 25th January 1544-5, in view of the Cardinal, who was seated in sacerdotal garments at an upper window of the Spey tower, the men were hanged. Helen, on parting from her husband, said—"Husband, be glad; we have lived together many joyful days, and this day of our death we ought to esteem the most joyful of all, for soon we shall have joy for ever. Therefore, I will not bid you good night, for we shall shortly be in the kingdom of heaven." This pious wife and mother thereafter commended her children to the care of her neighbours, the infant at her breast was taken from her, and the woman was drowned in a pool of water beside the river Tay. The monks of Lindores doubtless hearing of these proceedings, would recall the fact that it was their monastery that had borne the expense of building the Spey-gate and tower where these scenes were enacted.

The Cardinal next turned his attention to George Wishart, who was already proclaiming the reformed doctrines. Wishart's unsullied life, and able exposure of the Church's degenerate condition, simply galled the spirit of the licentious Cardinal, and he turned to pursue him with all the ferocity of a tiger. Interdicted for preaching in Dundee, Wishart continued his labours in the west of Scotland, but hurried back to Dundee on hearing that a plague had broken out there. After several

narrow escapes, he was at last arrested, and placed in the clutches of this tyrannical churchman, who had him tried, condemned, and burnt with all haste. During the execution the guns of St Andrew's Castle, where the Cardinal resided, were turned towards the spot to prevent any attempt at rescue. In this way perished one of Scotland's noblest sons.

Retribution followed the death of this martyr in a tragedy that appears awful in the light of the Cardinal's conduct in life and his grovelling cry in his last hour—"I am a priest, ye will not slay me." He was assassinated by several of Wishart's incensed admirers, who afterwards hung the dead body outside one of the castle windows.

CHAPTER XVI.

Archbishop Hamilton—Walter Mille: His Arrest and Trial—Abbot of Lindores at the Trial—Mille's Death: His Remarkable Prophecy.

CARDINAL BEATON'S successor was Archbishop Hamilton, who continued the work of trying to put down heresy, as it was called, by the inhuman methods of the Church, which offered at the shrine of her own ambition every vestige of right or title to be called the Church of Christ.

One further effort, happily the last, was to be made, the victim being an old and decrepit person called Walter Mille, at one time parish priest of Lunan in Angus. In his youth he had been a Papist, but after travelling in Germany, and hearing there the gospel doctrines unfolded, he returned to Scotland, and taking unto himself a wife he thereby incurred the suspicion of heresy, and was for long watched. Owing to threatened action by Cardinal Beaton, Mille abandoned his charge at Lunan, and for a season absconded, or at least kept out of

the clutches of the Church. At length, when eighty-two years of age, the emissaries of Archbishop Hamilton laid hands on him at Dysart, and carried him to St Andrews, where he was committed to prison. He was next brought before Hamilton and accused of heresy. There were many officials of the Romish Church present at the trial, amongst them being John, Abbot of Lindores, who with the others must have heard his examination.

As Walter Mille was the last to pass through this ordeal in Scotland, it may not be out of place to give the following account of his trial as showing the unscriptural position of the Church, and the firm grasp this clear-headed priest had of Christian doctrines.

Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the Archbishop's priests, commanding him to arise (for he was upon his knees) to answer to the articles, said—"*Sir* Walter Mille, get you up and answer, for you keep my lord here too long." He nevertheless continued his devotion; and that done, he arose, and said: "I ought to obey God more than men. I serve a mightier Lord than your lord is; and where you call me *Sir* Walter, they call me *Walter*, and not *Sir Walter*. I have been too long one of the Pope's knights. Now say what you have to say."

Oliphant then began with this question—"What

thinkest thou of priest's marriage?" He answered —"I esteem it a blessed bond, ordained by God, approved by Christ, and made free to all sorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the meantime take other men's wives and daughters. You vow chastity, and keep it not."

Oliphant, proceeding, said—"Thou sayest that there are not seven sacraments." He answered—"Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest and part them among you."

Oliphant—"Thou sayest that the mass is idolatry." He answered—"A lord sendeth and calleth many to his dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the bell, and they come into the hall; but he, turning his back upon the guests, eateth all himself, giving them no part; and so do you."

Oliphant—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the Altar to be the body of Christ really in flesh and blood." He answered—"The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and your mass is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for men's sins, and will never be again, for then He put an end to all sacrifices."

Oliphant—"Thou deniest the office of bishop." He answered—"I affirm they whom you call bishops do not bishops' works, nor use the office of bishops, but live after their own sensual pleasures, taking no care for the flock, nor yet regarding the Word of God."

Oliphant—"Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to wantonness." He answered—"I say that pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scriptures, and that there is no greater wantonness in any place than at your pilgrimages, except it be in the common brothels."

Oliphant—"Thou preachest privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields." He answered—"Yea, man; and upon the sea too, when I am sailing."

Oliphant—"If thou wilt not recant thy opinions, I will pronounce sentence against thee." He answered—"I know I must die once, therefore, as Christ said to Judas, What thou doest do quickly; you shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn and no chaff; I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both." "These answers he gave with great boldness to the admiration of all who were present."

Oliphant then pronounced the sentence, namely, that he should be given over to the temporal power and punished as a heretic. But here a difficulty arose. A temporal judge had to pass upon him sentence of death, and no one could be found to do it. The provost, Patrick Learmonth, had left the city, and intimated that he would be no party to the carrying out of the behests of the Church.

So great also was the sympathy of the citizens

towards the aged priest that not one of them would sell or provide a rope by which he might be bound to the stake. He was respited till next day. What was to be done? The Church, according to her own theory, could not inflict punishment on offenders, her rule being to hand over, with deep regret, the culprit to the secular power.

At length a plan was devised to overcome the difficulty. One of the Archbishop's servants was elevated to the position of temporal judge for the occasion. By him Mille was ordered to be burnt at the stake. In the absence of ropes, curtain cords from the Archbishop's pavilion were used to tie the old man, who was full of courage to the last. While being bound, he entreated the people that stood by to pray to God and avoid being led astray by the errors and artifices of monks, priests, abbots, and bishops. When at the stake he uttered, it is said, the memorable and prophetic words—"As for me, I am four-score and two years old, and could not have lived much longer by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." (20th April 1558.)

CHAPTER XVII.

How the People regarded the Trial and Death of Walter Mille—Indignation—A National Movement—The Queen Regent is Approached—Her Perfidy and the Result—John Knox Preaches in St John's Church, Perth—A Priest Attempts to Celebrate Mass after Knox's Sermon—The State of Public Opinion—A Tabernacle is Broken by a Boy who had been Struck by a Priest: What Followed—The Queen Regent and the Lords of the Congregation—The Reformers Visit Lindores Abbey.

THE atrocious conduct of the Church during the trial of Walter Mille opened the eyes of the people to a real sense of their own danger and duty. The surprise at the treatment meted out to this old man was only equalled by the indignation it called forth. To do away with a state of things that enabled Church dignitaries to indulge in such conduct as had been witnessed accordingly became the ardent resolution of a rapidly increasing majority. The movement became national. The natural leaders of the people came to the front, and it was agreed on all hands that if abbots and archbishops appealed

to the gibbet and stake to support their idolatry it could be no sin to uphold the truth and defy in an organised fashion their oppressive insolence. Subscriptions were solicited for this purpose, and came in freely. Assemblies were held, and it was resolved to make a public and common supplication to the Queen Regent. It was, however, entirely against the wishes of the leaders and the people to show contempt to established authority. All they desired and asked for was redress of grievances, not the destruction of the existing Government. They demanded too that there should be a reform of the doctrines and habits of the clergy. Then began that struggle between the lords of the Congregation along with the reformers on the one hand, and on the other Mary of Guise, Queen Regent, aided by regiments of French soldiers, and under the promptings of Romish clerics, with whom she was in full sympathy. On one side there were earnestness, piety, and thorough respect for their sovereign as such; on the other there were pride, deception, and an utter contempt for the feelings and aspirations of the people.

On 11th May 1559, while a large company of the Congregation held council in Perth, intelligence came of a glaring act of perfidy on the part of the Queen Regent, and her conduct became at once the subject of indignant comment. John

Knox, the redoubtable champion of the reformers, was present, and in the course of the forenoon occupied the pulpit of St John's Church, when he preached "vehement against idolatry." Many of those who heard him were doubtless familiar with this style of discourse, and at the conclusion of the service began to retire from the building in the usual hurried manner of Scottish congregations. It was, we are informed, nearing the hour of the mid-day meal, but a few young persons and loiterers, who had possibly no dinner to go to, remained behind to examine at leisure the interior of a place they seldom frequented. They were suddenly attracted by the actions of several Popish clerics, who had entered the building.

It is said that over vast sandy plains lying near the equator a stratum of intensely heated air is generated, and remains in close proximity to the earth, being kept in its place by the cooler air above. Day after day it retains this position, unable to find vent—not a motion, not a breath of wind comes to break the spell. Suddenly a bird rises. As it soars upward the flutter of its wings shatters an invisible partition, and the confined air beneath rushes towards the opening, and a scene of the wildest description ensues. Almost in an instant, for hundreds of miles around, a storm rages that will leave behind it disaster

and ruin. In like manner public opinion may be in such a condition that an incident which at other times would be deemed insignificant, and remain unheeded, may form a pivot on which a nation's welfare is to turn. On the morning of the 11th May 1559 there was an appearance of calm on the part of the people of Perth, under which lurked elements ready at the slightest opportunity to burst into activity, and the opportunity came. One of the clerics whom the idlers were watching injudiciously began to celebrate mass, when a lad, who was evidently under the influence of Knox's sermon, could not refrain from exclaiming —"This is intolerable, that when God by His Word hath plainly forbidden idolatry, we should stand and see it performed in despite." The priest in anger knocked down the boy, who in retaliation seized something (possibly a piece of gravestone) lying at his feet and threw it in the direction of his assailant. It missed the priest, but struck a tabernacle behind and broke one of the images. Those present sided with the boy, and, as if by instinct, followed his example by casting missiles. Then, before those outside knew of the tumult, images, altar, and ornaments were overthrown and demolished, while the priests fled in terror. So rapidly did the contagion spread that in a few days every religious house in and around Perth was visited and treated in a drastic manner.

After John Knox left Perth his movements and utterances appear to have been followed by active proceedings on the part of the rougher section of the population. At Crail, Cupar Fife, Anstruther, St Andrews, and elsewhere the magnificent habitations of the monks were purged, if not altogether destroyed.

There were ample reasons for the detestation in which these religious houses and their denizens were held, but the Queen Regent's treacherous conduct and her religious bigotry doubtless tended to infuse into the reckless portion of the multitude a greater fury in the work of destruction. Time after time requests had been sent to her asking for the redress of grievances and the pacification of the country. These she at times appeared to listen to, but always refused to give effect to them. The war of words between the opposing parties culminated in the following plain intimations:—"The promises," said the Queen Regent, "of princes ought not to be claimed with rigour, and are only binding when subservient to their conveniency and pleasure." To this the reply was given—"If these are your sentiments, the Congregation can no longer acknowledge your authority, and must renounce the allegiance of subjects."

Amidst all the coming and going of such a critical time, the Abbey of Lindores was not overlooked. While a band of Fifeshire reformers were

hurrying to the meeting of the Congregation that was held in Perth on the 24th June 1559, they turned aside and purposely purged Lindores. Reformer Knox travelled from Dundee with many followers to attend the Perth meeting, and thus writes—"We (that is the congregation) came to the Abbey of Lindores, a place of black monks, distant from St Andrews twelve miles. We reformed them, their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits." This was moderate treatment, and there may have been a special reason for it. If we mistake not, Abbot John had begun to show leanings toward reformed doctrines. At his age, and occupying the position that he did, it is unlikely that he would make a hurried change of front, but doubtless what he had seen and heard during the few previous years must have caused heart-searching on the part of this "excellent and tried man," and a not unfavourable attitude towards the reformers and their aims.

In connection with this it is significant to discover that the Queen Regent, a bigoted Romanist, gave Abbot John intimation that he would not receive any part of his living from the churches in the Garioch belonging to the Abbey, "because he had submitted himself to the Congregation, and had put some reformation in his place." This

reformation of worship in Lindores Abbey was likely the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England (Second Book of Edward VI.), the use of which was enjoined in 1557 by the leaders of the Congregation.

The Queen Regent resented the Protestantism thus introduced into several churches throughout Scotland, and "dischargit the common prayeris, and foirbad to gif ony portion to sic as war the principall young men quha redde theme."

Momentous events followed. The reformers began by seizing Broughty Ferry Castle, and ended by deposing the Queen Regent in October 1559.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Queen Regent's Death—The French Soldiers Return to France —A Solemn Thanksgiving—Protestant Ministers Appointed —Parliament Meets: Full Attendance: John, Abbot of Lindores, Present—How the Reformed Doctrines were Set on a Firm Basis—Scenes in Parliament—The Mass and Papal Authority in Scotland Abolished.

ON the 10th June 1560 the Queen Regent died, and by the 17th July her French soldiers were on their way home. At their departure a solemn thanksgiving to God was kept in the High Church of Edinburgh, and thereafter Protestant ministers were appointed for Edinburgh, St Andrews, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendents were elected to preside over ecclesiastical affairs in the following districts:—Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus and Mearns, Argyle and the Isles. This was the beginning of the thoroughly National Reformed Church of Scotland.

The meeting-day of Parliament, 10th July, drew near, and every person having title from law or ancient custom was called to attend. A full

convention of the greater barons and the prelates was the result, while the tenants or lesser barons, instead of sending representatives, came personally in crowds to give their votes. Commissioners also for the boroughs were present in full force.

At the various meetings of Parliament there was one present in whom we are specially interested—John, Abbot of Lindores, an elderly man now, who doubtless watched with keen interest proceedings that marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Scotland. We wonder how he felt when the first subject for discussion was given to the house by the Lords of Articles. It was entitled "The Supplication of the Congregation to the Parliament."

The opening clause referred to former petitions made by the Congregation to the Queen Regent but disdainfully rejected by her. It then called attention to the necessity of redressing certain enormities committed by placeholders of the ministerie and others of the clergie within the realm: described the doctrines of the Romish Church, received by the said clergie and maintained through their tyrannie by fire and sword; how they contained pestiferous errours, such as transubstantiation, adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, merits of works, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, praying for saints departed—which are either repugne to the plain Scriptures, or else have no

ground in the doctrine of our Master Jesus Christ, his prophets, and apostles. They craved abolition of such idolatry, and desired remedy against those "called the clergie, living in wantonness, adultery, and all other abominations."

The petitioners craved remedy against "the man of sin," who claimed such titles as vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, head of the Church, and who took upon himself the whole patrimony of the Church. They asserted that "in all the rabble of the clergie there is not one lawfull minister," and offered to prove them all thieves and murderers—"yea, rebels and traytors to the lawfull authority of emperors, kings, and princes, and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth." "How maliciously they murdered our brethren, for no other cause but for that they offered to us the light of God's Word." "If ye look for other fruit in times to come, than ye have seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived." The petition was received with apparent respect and without dispute.

The following is a summary of the subsequent proceedings of Parliament:—

The claim of the Protestant ministers to the patrimony of the Church was not allowed, but the subject was handed over to them and to leading laymen for consideration. The next matter brought forward was the Confession of Faith professed and

believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland, with the substance and sense of those doctrines which ought to be established over the kingdom. This was read first to the Lords of the Articles, then to the Parliament, and the Popish prelates who were present were commanded in the name of God to state publicly their objections to the doctrines it proposed; but the prelates—Abbot John of Lindores among the rest—kept profound silence.

A new diet was appointed to conclude the transaction. Again the Articles of Confession were read over in their order, and the votes of Parliament were called. Three members of the temporal nobility refused to bestow upon it their sanction or authority—the Earl of Athol and Lords Somerville and Borthwick declared that "they would believe as their fathers had done before them." No active dissent was offered by the clerics present; they remained speechless.

The Earl Marischal then rose, and in the hearing of the large assembly uttered what proved to be the death knell of mediæval Popery in Scotland:—"It is long," said he, "since I entertained a jealousy of the Romish faith, and an affection to the reformed doctrines, but this day has afforded me the completest conviction of the falsehood of the one and the truth of the other. The bishops, who do not conceive themselves to be deficient in

learning, and whose zeal for the maintenance of the hierarchy cannot be doubted, have abandoned their religion and their interests in it, as objects which admit of no defence or justification."

The other members of this great council, eager for the establishment of the Reformation, affirmed the propriety of the new doctrines. After solemn examination the Confession was adopted and ratified on 17th August.

Parliament then passed these proceedings into laws, instead of sending the heads and topics of the Reformed Faith to their young sovereigns, Mary and her consort Francis. Francis and Mary afterwards refused to ratify the proceedings of the three Estates. Parliament, however, protected its own acts, the people giving them due respect and obedience.

On the 24th of August Parliament decreed the abolition of the mass, and also formally declared that the Pope of Rome had no authority whatever in Scotland. Acts of a severe nature were passed against all who should dare to have anything to do with the Popish religion and with celebrating the mass or having any dealings with the Pope. Confiscation of estates, corporal chastisement, banishment from the kingdom, loss of honours and offices, and even the pains of death were liable to be inflicted on all such. Considering the circumstances under which these latter

acts were brought into being, considering too the difficulties which must have surrounded the reformers, they can only be regarded as protective measures, and it is worthy of notice that while the new order of things was on its trial there is no instance given of any Papist being put to death merely on account of religious beliefs.

CHAPTER XIX.

Church Revenues—Claim by Reformed Ministers—Completing the Work of the Reformation—Memorials of Popery Overthrown—Greed of Landlords—Abbot John's Return to Lindores—Last Service—Departure of the Monks.

A COMMISSION having been granted to several ministers of religion to draw up a scheme of ecclesiastical government, their labours were embodied in what is known as the First Book of Discipline. A convocation of the Estates gave its sanction to the Presbyterian scheme of government on 17th January 1561, and an act was passed approving thereof, with a condition that bishops and other beneficed persons should "bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lives, they sustaining and upholding the ministery and ministers of the reformed Church." About this time the ministers of the Reformation laid claim to the whole patrimony of the Church, but in what followed they were singularly unfortunate. Popish dignitaries, though they had nothing to say in defence of their religion, clung stoutly to the worldly goods of which they held possession.

The reformers' old friends and co-workers, the lords of the Congregation, nobility and laity, were equally selfish in keeping hold of the large possessions which they had managed to seize during the turmoil. A fresh appeal by the ministers was treated with neglect and indifference, if we except one suggestion which was readily taken up and given effect to :—"That all the monuments of idolatry which remained should be utterly destroyed." Approval of this recommendation was quickly followed by active operations. An Act was passed which commanded that every abbey church, every cloister, and every memorial of Popery should be finally overthrown and demolished. The Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, and Lord James Stuart were instructed to see this work carried through. In the widespread operations that followed Scotland must have been denuded of many buildings rich in architectural beauty. Cloisters and religious houses which had escaped the first passionate onslaughts of the populace were, we may assume, defaced or completely destroyed. All that pertained to monastic life was utterly rooted out: furniture, utensils, and decorations were appropriated as so many prizes, while the registers, church libraries, and the carefully written manuscripts of the monks were gathered into heaps and burned. The armies of Henry VIII. of England had already destroyed the

Abbeys of Melrose, Kelso, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, and other religious houses, one of the results of the English King's "boisterous courtship" of Scotland on behalf of his son (1545-7).

In the midst of such desolation the leaders in the Church and State devised a scheme for the disposal of the ecclesiastical property, which comprised about one half of the land in the country. By this scheme the higher Romish clergy were allowed to retain two-thirds of their benefices during their lives—the remaining third was to be apportioned between the crown and the reformed clergy. Such of the Romish dignitaries as conformed to Protestantism held their possessions, and afterwards got them converted into temporal lordships for themselves or their kindred.

For the monks, friars, and nuns throughout the realm the scantiest provision was made. They were treated as mere ciphers, whom the new owners of Church property might feed or starve as they chose. Possibly this treatment was in grim deference to the vow of poverty taken when they became *religious*. The pittances allowed them were most grudgingly paid by the lay proprietors who obtained possession of the abbey estates. The reformed ministers were in the same predicament. "Zealous reformers," Knox informs us, "had greedilie grippit the possessions of the Kirk," but would scarcely disgorge as much as would suffice

for their maintenance. "Thair was none," he further adds, "within the realme more unmerciful to the poore ministers than wer thei which had greatest rentes of the churches."

How fared it then with Abbot John and his monks after he returned from the Parliament of 1560? We know not. The officials who gathered in the chapter-house to hear him give an account of what he had seen and heard must have felt that only an intervention of Providence could secure them an opportunity to fulfil their vows as monks at Lindores. How many were in the Abbey at the time is not known. Doubtless the number had dwindled down to only a few, as in other places. The last tolling of the bells, the final service, the packing up, and the farewell partings are unrecorded. Our imagination pictures a few cowled brethren consulting together as to their immediate future, and how they are to face the world. Then each would wend his way from a place that was in deep disgrace in the eyes of the people. Or would they congratulate each other on their new-found freedom, or would they forgather at the gate and have a merry hour recounting old-time tales? If they did so, surely the nuns of Elcho would not be forgotten, for once every year the monks of Lindores marched in procession to meet them at Dron, and convoy them to the church of Ecclesia Magridle, in Strath-Earn, when they paid

their devotions to their patron saint. Let us believe that one of the latest acts of the monks as a company was to turn their eyes towards the old famous causeway leading to Dron, then in a state of neglect, and which soon after disappeared altogether from view.

"What sorrows gloom'd that parting day
That called them from their native walks away,
When the poor exiles, every pleasure past,
Hung round the bowers, and fondly look'd their last,
And took a long farewell, and wish'd in vain
For seats like these."

CHAPTER XX.

The Last Abbot of Lindores—He is Sent on a Mission—His Attachment to Queen Mary—Imprisoned and Tortured—His Death—His Testimony regarding the Protestants—Patrick Lesslie, Commendator—His Arrangement with the Constable of Dundee—Created Lord Lindores—The Abbey after the Reformation—Its Woodwork Used by the Magistrates of Dundee—Parliament and the Abbey's Revenues—Edinburgh Buys the Abbey Clock—Buildings Used as a Quarry—A New Title—Exploration and Preservation.

JOHN LESSLIE, the last Abbot of Lindores, occupies a prominent position in the history of his time. He adhered to the Romish Church, and the Popish nobles of Scotland sent him to France to win the attachment of Mary, the young queen, to their cause. When she came to claim her crown and kingdom he accompanied her. He was appointed a privy councillor, and in 1564 sat as one of the Lords of Session (Lord Ross). On the 24th February 1566 her majesty bestowed on him the Abbacy of Lindores in commendam. He was in Holyrood Palace the evening Rizzio was

murdered, and ever remained true to his royal mistress. Active and of sterling ability, he was also known to be a dangerous intriguer. This led to his arrest in England, where he was imprisoned and tortured. During his confinement in the Tower (1572) he wrote his "Pious Consolations," which he sent to his unfortunate sovereign. After his release he went to France, and published in Rome in 1578 his History of Scotland.

Amid the closing scenes of Queen Mary's unhappy career she remembered John Lesslie, and besought Philip of Spain to show kindness to him for his zeal in her cause. Retiring ultimately to the monastery of the order of St Augustine at Gertrudenberg, near Brussels, he died there in June 1596 in his seventieth year. Although he lived and died in the Romish faith, he had the manliness to declare that the "humanity of the Protestants ought not to be concealed, for they never put any to death for their religion, drove but few into exile, and threw fewer still into prison."

After his departure from Scotland, Patrick Lesslie of Pitcairlie, second son of Andrew, fourth Earl of Rothes, was appointed commendator of Lindores. Being a layman he could only hold it in commendam or trust. Many abbeys by that time, and even before the Reformation, were held on the same condition.

Had there been no reason for scepticism regard-

ing the destination of certain moneys received by this commendator, it might have been a duty to acknowledge him as a restorer of the Abbey Church, for it is on record as follows:—

On 5th November 1587 Patrick Leslie granted a tack of the teind sheaves of the parish of Dudhope to James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee, and John Scrymgeour, his son, for their lives, and nineteen years after their decease. "Be it known till all men, Patrick, be permission of God, Commendator of Lundores, with express consent and assent of our convent of the said Abbey, the weill, proffit, and utilitie thereof, . . . and considerit, after lang advisement and mature deliberation, and for certain great sum of silver, defressit and payit to us in name of grassum, be ane honourable man, James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee, to be warit and applyit towards ye reparation of our Abbey Kirk of Lundores."

In 1599 a company of Fifeshire gentlemen, including this commendator, banded together to take possession of the islands of Lewis and Harris, which had been confiscated by Government owing to the turbulence of the chiefs thereon. The islanders resisted the intruders, killed nearly all the attacking parties, seized the leaders, and only released them eight months after on the understanding that they would never return.

Shortly after, the King, James VI., bestowed on Lesslie the lands of Lindores, a grant confirmed by Parliament on 15th November 1600.

That same year he was created Lord Lindores, the title being confirmed by Parliament on 11th July 1606.

How it actually fared with Lindores Abbey at the Reformation is a question to which no definite answer appears to be forthcoming. Notwithstanding his long and patient research, Dr Laing, the Abbey's historian, leaves the matter in doubt.

Alexander Maxwell, in his "Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation," indicates the probable destination of a part at least of the woodwork of the Abbey, unless we are to assume that the abbot contemplated additions to the buildings, and had secured wood for that purpose, but afterwards changed his mind. From this historian we quote as follows:—"'For the reparation and bigging of the new tolbuith and the flesh-house at the Castle, burnhead (Dundee).' For the latter building it was resolved to use 'the stanes of the Greyfriars,' and no doubt the upper part of the tolbuith was built from the same quarry. Six hundred merks were advanced for the purpose by 'James Anderson in the Ferry.'" Then comes the following extract:—"The Provost, haill Bailies, and Council conveinit in the Provost's ludging, agreeit with George Blak, wricht, in manner following:—That

is to say, the said George Blak hes oblist himself to furnish, free of all expense unto the theiking with sklaits, ane ruif of timmer, with the close sarking of deal, irne werk, and all other necessaries belanging thereto to be furnishit be George unto the new tolbuith incontinent with all possible diligence, and that of the best timmer choice and waill that (he) gets of the Abasie of Lendores; of the whilk there sall be fifty couples furnishit be him of the timmer foresaid, with double baulks and angular; and also (he) sall furnish to the new tolbuith aucht grite perpen geists (main beams), to be imput be him in the walls at the time fore said free of all expense. For the whilk causes the Provost, Bailies, and Council bind and obliss them to content and pay to George the soum of twa hundred merks—ane half in hand, and the other at the completing of the werk—togidder with ane burgess-ship and guildery. And George Lowell is become cautioner for fulfilling of the werk."

In 1562, after the tolbuith was completed, a quantity of timber was left over, and the treasurer received instructions "to tak the readiest timmer in the new tolbuith and put the same in wark in the outred of the flesh house."

An Act of Parliament passed in 1585 (James VI.) explains how a portion of the Abbey revenues was to be applied:—

"The haill thrid of the quheit of Lindores,

3 chalders four bolles 3 peckes; out of the thrid of the beir, saxe chalders nine bolles ane firlot; out of the thrid of the meal 4 chalders XI. bolles three firlotes two peckes" were assigned for keeping the Castle of Edinburgh, "one of the four chief strengths of the Realme, maist necessar to be keepit."

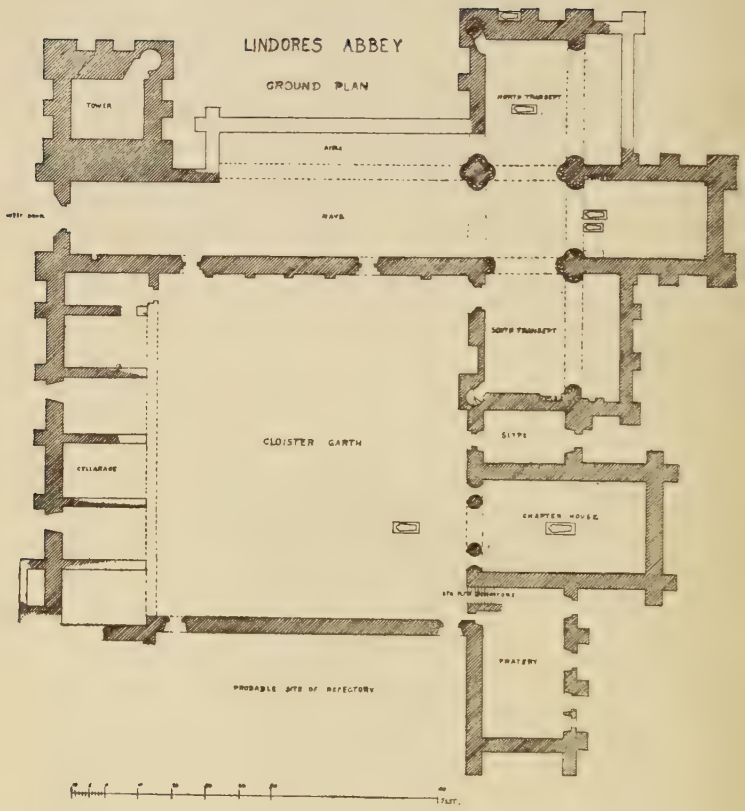
That same year the Town Council of Edinburgh purchased the Abbey clock, as the following entry in their records proves:—

"Vigesimo primo Aprilis 1585.—The same day [etc.]. Ordainis Nicoll Uddert, dene of gild, to refound and pay to Henry Nisbet, bailzie, the soum of fyftie fyve pund debursit be hym for the pryce of the knok of Lindores, and the same sall be allowit to the said dene of gild in his comptis, and the said dene of gild to intromett with the said knok and to be comptabill for the sam."

If the inhabitants of Newburgh did not at the time of the Reformation get possession of the Abbey church and use it as a place of worship, it is conceivable that the woodwork was taken, as stated, by the magistrates of Dundee, who may have considered that it would be better to put it to a use of some kind rather than allow storm and decay to seize upon such valuable timber. The stonework of the Abbey was, however, much sought after by the neighbourhood, and the place was for many a day a regular

quarry, until nearly every dressed stone was carried away.

Afterwards the place was left in absolute neglect, and became known as "the wilderness." About the middle of last century, and under the devoted supervision of its historian, the ruins were explored and the architectural features as far as possible preserved.

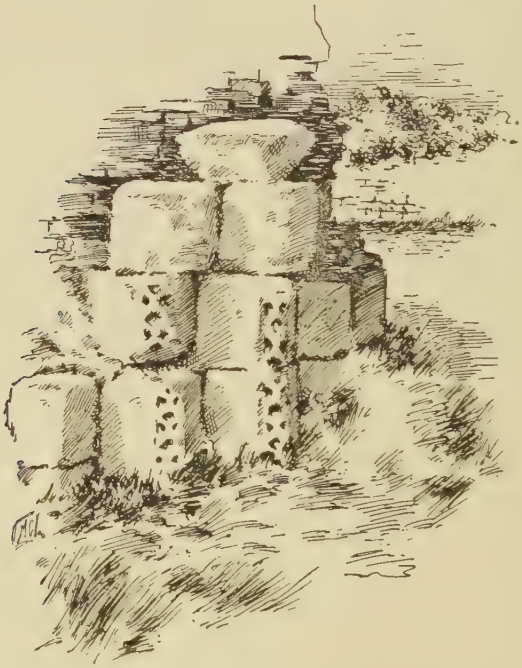

LINDORES ABBEY
GROUND PLAN
TOWER
NORTH TRANSEPT
NAVE
SOUTH TRANSEPT
SLYPE
CLOISTER GARTH
CELLARAGE
CHAPTER HOUSE
PROBABLE SITE OF REFECTORY
PRATERY

CHAPTER XXI.

A Walk through the Abbey Ruins—The Entrance—The Court—The Abbey Church—The Monks' Entrance—The Tower—The Bells of the Abbey—Stone Coffins—Grave of Duke of Rothesay—An Enormous Pear Tree—Wallace Den—The View from the Abbey—The Chapter House—The Abbey Officials.

THE present entrance, which cannot be described as elegant, is situated at the west, and is a narrow doorway made in the wall which had at one time enclosed the convent. Entering, we find

ourselves in the west court. Immediately in front is an unsightly channel partly filled with stagnant water. This work of modern times lays bare the foundation of the cloister court. To the south, portions of wall are seen rising to the height of several feet, but the whole of the facings and dressed stones have been removed. In the centre of the north wall are the remains of an entrance



into the church. A few weather-worn examples of

ornamental mason work can be traced here, consisting of what is called the dog-tooth ornament—a distinctive feature in the Early English style. On entering the church we are at once struck with its length and narrowness. It had consisted apparently of a nave and north aisle. The usual plan, however, when there was only one aisle was for it to be placed on the south. At the west end of the church there is another entrance, but if any of its decorations remain, they have been covered by a modern wall built across, and having an iron gate, the purpose of which is not at all evident. The portion here would be the latest addition to the abbey church, and should show whether any change of style had been introduced by the builders. There is a plain doorway close by leading from the north-west corner of the cloister court into the church. This was, we presume, the monks' entrance, and would be used also for processional purposes. Close beside it is a recess with a rude basin.

On the north side, and opposite the monks' entrance, the remains of a tower attract attention. The work of demolition here is nearly complete. The walls must have been of great thickness, and the buttresses of immense size. What is left of the latter bear a resemblance to kindred structures erected in England about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the north-east buttress

there can yet be seen a few steps of a spiral stair, the newel or central pillar being formed

from the narrow ends of the steps resting one upon the other.

A considerable variety as to height and details prevailed in the designs of Early English towers, and the appearance of the Lindores tower when entire is a matter of conjecture. Probably it consisted of three sections or storeys, bringing it up to a height of seventy or eighty feet. The uppermost part would be the belfry. The monastery had four large bells. One of them, named the Lady bell, was gifted by the founder, and is stated to have been of silver. The others were

named Gabriell, Michael, and Raphael. These bells disappeared at the Reformation.

Regarding them the following incident may be related:—The bellringer on one occasion quarrelled with the monks, and, being duly impressed with his own importance, left in high temper, thinking they could not get on without his services. He had not proceeded far when the bells were heard clanging as usual, and the truth flashed upon him that even *his* duties could be fulfilled. A local poet has happily hit off the incident in the following verses:—

THE BELLS O' THE ABBEY.

"In yon auld Abbey ruins, where no one now dwells,
The monks had a servant for ringing their bells;
Ae day, being dortit, he aff to the hill,
And sat doon to rest him beside the monks' well,
And waitit to gloat ower the sorrow sincere,
When the bells wudna ring 'cause he wasna there.

"When the time that the bells should be rung cam' around,
Hoo surprised was the budie to hear them a' soond;
He rose up astonished, but hung doon his head
As his nose had been bluidin'; awa' back he gaed,
And oor aft-quoted byword then fell from his tongue,
'The bells o' the Abbey are aye gotten rung.'

"That silly auld carle, lang cauld in the clay,
We've lauched at his folly this mony lang day;
And aften it strikes us there's mony ane yet

Wha folly eneuch hae this fact to forget ;
As the auld pass awa' they're replaced by the young,
And the bells o' the Abbey are aye gotten rung.

"But there's mice and there's mice, and there's men and there's men,
There's while's ae guid fellow weel worth ither ten ;
The sword o' the warrior, the lyre o' the bard,
They still may be seen, and they still may be heard ;
But wha's left, cries Scotland, as sadly she mourns,
To swing them and sing them like Wallace and Burns ?

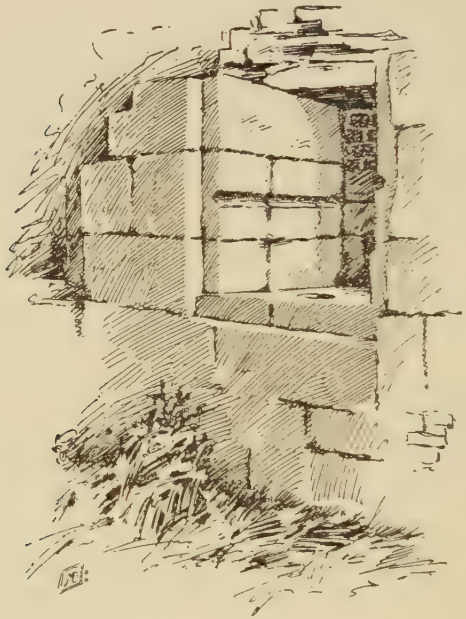
"And noo, my dear friend, whaever ye be—
A servant o' highest or lowest degree—
For fear through prood dortin' yer place ye should tyne,
Attend to this tale o' the days o' lang syne ;
And ponder the truth for yer guid that I've sung,
Hoo the bells o' the Abbey are aye gotten rung."

When the tower was cleared out several stone and iron cannon balls were found, and a huge key for a door-lock. While the *debris* that encumbered the church itself was being removed, portions of the pillars which divided the nave from the aisle were found standing to the height of a few feet. They were, however, soon demolished, and even the foundations were taken up and removed. Of the north transept little remains except a fragment of wall. In the north-west corner are the remains of a stair similar in design to the one already noted. Outside and on the north

there is a stone coffin; while inside there is another, almost wholly exposed.

On the east side of this transept there had been a chapel, believed to be that of the founder. On its south wall there are traces indicating that when entire it was vaulted and ribbed. A recess in the same wall was discovered, which had been built up. On the stones and rubbish being removed two piscinæ were exposed. The workmanship shown in these is fine. The one opposite the observer's left hand is seven fluted, the other circular. Each has a drain-hole in the bottom leading to the earth. In these piscinæ the priest washed his hands and rinsed the chalice at the time of the celebration of the mass. To the right is another recess, plain, like the other, in which there is a basin. There are also grooves, where

a shelf of stone or wood had been fixed. This recess was doubtless an almry or sacrament house, where the sacred vessels were kept.



The basements of the pillars where the nave and transepts intersect are massive, and suggest that a considerable tower surmounted the Abbey church of Lindores. Standing beside them we note their simple yet attractive design — so suggestive of dignity and strength. How carefully the courses had been chiselled and rounded! How fine the

effect produced by the combinations of red and grey! If not lofty and awe-inspiring, the church must have had its own peculiar charms.

The choir of the church is that portion to the east of the transepts. In constructing these abbey churches it was invariably built first. There stood the high altar of Lindores, named Saint Marie's. Three other altars are mentioned as having existed, but where situated is not known. Their names were Saint Dionysius, Saint Michael, and Saint John.

A mass of earth and stones, surmounted by a large tree, occupies the place where the high altar had stood, and it is possible that portions lie near their original positions — such as the altar-slab with its five crosses, signifying the five wounds or holy mysteries.

On the south side of the choir a grave was discovered. It was of rude construction, as if hurriedly made. It contained an entire skeleton, the skull of which was examined by anatomists, who declared it to be that of a young man. We conclude that here was buried the Duke of Rothesay.

Immediately opposite, on the north side of the choir, is a stone coffin partly exposed. It had at one time been surmounted or covered over by a monumental tablet or sepulchre. Are we wrong in believing that here lay buried the wife of Sir David Lindsay, at whose tomb a wax candle was to be kept burning for all time? How carefully

the conditions were drawn out by Sir David:—"I become bound," he writes, "in two merks due to me annually from the land of Pethfour, near my land of Carny; and if the said two merks should not suffice, the said wax (6 stones) shall be wholly forthcoming from my rents of Carny, under penalty of one pound of wax to be paid after eight days, if I or my heirs fail in the payment foresaid; and the monks of the said convent shall be liable in the like penalty if they cease from keeping up the said candle, to the maintenance whereof I and my heirs shall have power to compel them by law, and to make satisfaction for the omission."

Strange it is that the satires of another of the Lindsay family helped to blow out that same wax light, and not uninteresting to know that in a window in the nave of the church a stone candlestick was discovered about the middle of last century. Strange it is also to learn as we stand by the tenantless coffin that the bequest of Lady Mary's husband still holds good so far, for the present owner of the Abbey continues to receive the equivalent of "two merks annually out of the lands of Pethfour near Carny (Cairnie) in the parish of St Madoes."

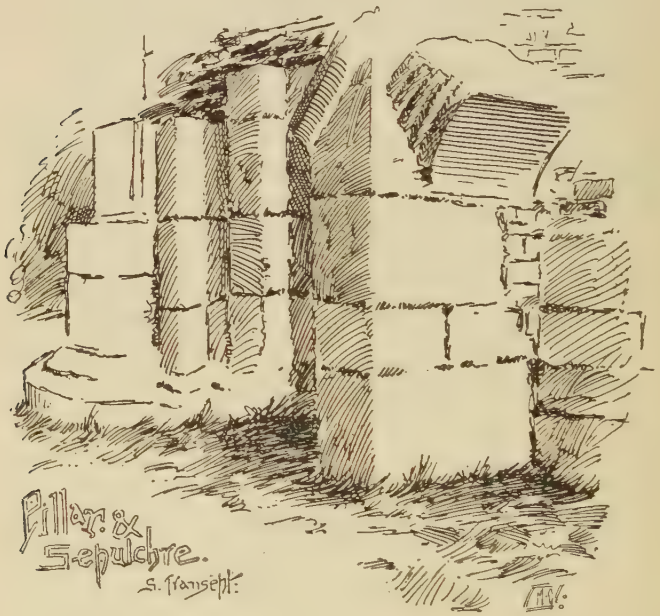
In the centre of the choir, and right in front of where the high altar stood, two small red-sandstone coffins lie side by side. They were discovered in 1846, and contained the bodies of two children

of David, Earl of Huntingdon. One of them was named Robert, whose death was mourned over by both the people of Scotland and England.

The other was an infant, of whom there is no public record. In the foundation charter a son David is mentioned. We assume, therefore, that

the smaller coffin of the two contained the remains of the earl's eldest son and namesake, who had died shortly after the Abbey was founded.

The south transept resembles in ground plan the one on the north, and has also a side chapel. In the south wall is a recess or almry, and close by the remains of a pillar and traces of a sepulchre,



supposed by some to be the place where the Earl of Douglas was buried. Others hold, as we stated before, that his successor, the Red

Douglas, conveyed the body across the Tay and had it interred in the Abbey of Coupar-Angus.

In the south-west corner of this transept there had been a stair similar to the ones already mentioned. It probably led to the porter's lodge, which would be immediately over the entrance.

The porch next engages our attention. It is situated south of the transepts, and is the only part that can be described as entire. It is vaulted, groined, and ribbed.

The exterior of the doorway of Lindores Abbey has been robbed of its architectural embellishments, if it ever had any; but the recess for the bar that secured the door can be seen, and indicates that when the place was closed and bolted it must have been very secure.

Passing towards the east a magnificent view meets the eye. Immediately to the left, and reflecting the ever-changing moods of sky and season—

> "The Tay rolled down from Highland hills
> There rests his waves, after so rude a race,
> In the fair Carse of Gowrie,
> Yonder to the east, Dundee, the gift of God."

On the opposite shore of the river stretches the famed Carse; while beyond rise sierra-like the mountain ranges of the north.

The view to the southward is confined to the

eastern slopes of the Ochil hills, which here trend towards the Tay.

A short distance from the Abbey entrance are the remains of what was once looked upon as one of the largest and oldest pear trees in Britain, and was planted doubtless by the monks. It continued to thrive until that fatal night of the 28th December 1879, when it was blown down by the hurricane that swept down the valley of the Tay and wrecked the first Tay Bridge, with its ill-fated train and passengers. It measured at the base 17 feet; at three feet from the ground, 13 feet 6 inches; and at six feet from the ground divided into two branches, one of which was 8 feet 9 inches and the other 10 feet 6 inches in circumference. It was believed to be over 400 years old.

A few hundred yards off there could at one time be seen Wallace's Den and the strand of water where he and his compatriots quenched their thirst. Agricultural improvements necessitated their being filled up, and they now exist only in imagination or in the recollections of old inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who knew them as children.

Beyond is the site of Hyrnside Quarry—"Earl David's own"—also filled up. The canal leading from it to the Abbey was discernible in the early decades of last century, but it is now entirely obliterated. The eye searches in vain for

gleanings of the olden time. The stretch of ground where once Hyrnside forest waved its skirts in the breeze has little attraction, and we seek the far-off view of the tidal Tay, the new Tay Bridge, and the smoke-clouded city of Dundee.

Retracing our steps, we again pass through the porch and examine an adjacent apartment on the south. This we know is the chapter house. At its east end are traces of three elevated seats, which originally had elbow rests — portions of which still project from the wall. The business of the Abbey was transacted in this chamber. The abbot sat in the centre elevated seat, with the prior on his right and the cellarer on his left. The other members of the convent would occupy their respective positions on either side, as we are reminded when we observe the vacant seats around us.

The full complement of officials would consist of :—

The almoner, who would be required to give an account of how the alms had been distributed, and of the doles received on the anniversaries of the founder and other benefactors.

The sacrist, or churchwarden, whose duties were various. He had charge of the vessels for Communion, and prepared the bread of the Host with his own hand, as it was kept separate from the ordinary bread. He also provided the wine, and

the water to mix with it; kept the altar cloths in order; saw that wax candles were ready for evening and other services; rang the bell at the stated services; and saw to the burial of the dead. In several of his many functions he was allowed to get help from others.

The chamberlain, who provided beds and bedding for the monks, and also clothing and shoes. He had likewise to provide tools for shoeing the horses of strangers, besides those of the abbot and prior.

The cellarer, or house steward, who looked after the food and drink required, saw to the fuel for firing and all the kitchen utensils.

Hospitaler, or hosteler, whose special duty it was to see that the guests, especially travellers, were properly provided for and entertained.

The master of the infirmary had the care of the sick and aged, who were, according to the rules, to be kindly treated, and everything done for their comfort.

The head-chaunter, or precentor, who presided over the choir service, provided the books and music for the singers employed, and paid them their salaries. He had charge of the abbey seal, kept the chapter book or record of the public business, provided parchment, pens, and ink for the writers, and colours for the painters or draughtsmen who adorned the missals or prayer books.

How often must these and the other convent

brethren have met in this chapter house to discuss matters and arrange for the multifarious duties connected with their establishment!

It is not possible to ascertain what may have been the average number of monks ordinarily resident in the Abbey. Abbot Guy, as we noticed, left twenty-six monks in the Abbey in 1219. A few years before the Reformation we have the names of nineteen given besides that of the abbot, John. They were as follows:—John Brownhill, John Blair, Richard Barcar, Patrick Steill, William Messon, Alexander Wrycht, Alexander Richardsoun, David Orem, Andrew Lesley, Alexander Patonson, Robert Jamieson, Robert Wilyemson, Robert Westwatter, Jacob Carstairs, John Skynnir, William Walkand, Gilbert Marischell, Andrew Vod, and the ubiquitous John Smyth.

The decorations of chapter houses vied with those of abbey churches, but what remains of Lindores chapter house suggests little of its former appearance or glory. All that we see consists of a few seats, crumbling walls, traces of an arcade, a grave, and a coffin lid.

In front of the entrance (on the west) a large stone coffin was discovered. On the lid, which now leans against the south wall of the chapter house, is the representation of an ecclesiastic. Unfortunately the head is awanting. The coffin attracted the attention of the late Dean Stanley

while he was on a visit to the Abbey. When informed of its dimensions, he humorously observed

that the occupant must have been both a broad churchman and a high churchman.

To the south of the chapter house are the foundations of other buildings. Here the fratery, or meeting place of the brotherhood, was situated. A portion of a broad stairway on the south side

of the chapter house wall can be discerned; it probably led to the dormitory and scriptorium.

The base of a doorway after the perpendicular style of the fifteenth century is situated immediately to the west, and nearly in line with the south side of the cloister court, which consists now of ruinous masses of wall, ivy covered, and devoid of all traces of architecture.

It is probable that south of this the refectory would be placed, but no trace of it can be seen. Further south the ancient orchard exhibits a few hoary trees.

At the west side of the cloister court there are considerable remains of buildings, supposed to have been the kitchen and accessories, along with the cellarage.

An arched gateway south from this point is worthy of notice, although it is not supposed to have formed part of the original Abbey scheme. It must have been built about the time when Scotland was bestirring herself and preparing to weigh the monkish system in the balance.

Scotland had many a struggle and many a gloomy outlook between 1190 and 1561, but there was brightness too, and a progressive movement to better times. Of the joys and sorrows, the lights and shadows, that came and passed away in the homes around the Abbey of Lindores during its active existence we have not spoken.

Yet they were not forgotten, and often while engaged in the task to which we had set ourselves we longed to get and to give a peep into the home life of serf and villager. In the Abbey itself there was the flow and ebb of human life. It too was a home with its welcomes and farewells. Brothers came and went — leaving it perchance to return again, others going forth to return no more. Doubtless too many a monk over whom age had thrown a mantle of reverence lingered here and at last fell asleep beside the old familiar walks.

Its early visitors with their passion-hours, their fame-hunger, and fateful deeds, have gone, and their place is taken in these years of gentler mood by happy school children, the rambling tourist, or the thoughtful student of history.

As I write these last thoughts I seem once again to stand in the midst of its ruins; the spirit of the place lingers by me; I hear its song —now throbbing and pulsing as from amid the bustle and din of warlike troublous times, anon breathing softly—surrounded by valleys studded here and there with homestead and quiet village, and smiling with the fruits of peaceful industry:—

> Where every prospect tends to charm the eye,
> From early dawn till evening veils the sky;
> Or while the moon from star-bespangled height
> Sheds o'er the scene a strange enchanting light;

By Tay's broad stream was reared this Abbey's form—
A pleasing sight in sunshine or in storm;
Its abbots, monks, and serfs, with cultured skill
Improved the ground and trained the nation's will.

The kingly form, the courtier with his smile,
The patriot soul, the traitor nursing guile,
Have paused beneath its shade, and prayed the hour
When fate would grant them fortune, place, and power.
The hoarse-voiced warrior here has vowed to stand
Against the spoilers of his native land.
Here humble souls oppressed with earthly grief
Have lowly knelt and asked of heaven relief.

Religion here has masked the vulture mind,
That to the stake Truth's witnesses consigned;
While watching crowds, cowed by a Church's might,
Dared scarcely breathe against the awful sight.
But leaders rose, and, like a mountain flood,
A nation moved to avenge the guiltless blood;
Each unclean nest was purged, each black brood fled,
And Freedom smiled and raised her beauteous head.

Then desolation came, and rudely down
This fabric tumbled, till its topmost crown
Lay in the dust, and night-birds' eerie calls
Resounded nightly from its mouldering walls.
Yet, who can view it, and forget that fame
Means something greater than an empty name?
Great men—their deeds, ignoble or sublime—
Are beacons lighting up the stream of time.

Should we, when musing by this ruin grim,
See ghost-like shadows flitting, soft and dim,
Down the long aisle, or pausing where some shrine
Had stood of yore, regarded as divine.
O, may we vow that never in our land
Shall error flourish, or a tyrant stand—
Long may the rights to us so nobly given
Keep clear the pathway to our God and heaven.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Abbey Museum, as Depicted by Mr Charles Spence, of Rait—Clach-ard-Craig—The Grange—Abdie Old Church—The Loch—The Village—Newburgh—The Bear and Ragged Staff—Monks' Well.

The Abbey Museum.

WI' dominies I've been acquant,
Wi' doctors, priests, fu' mony, man;
But now I ha'e mair cause to vaunt
Since I fell in wi' Honeyman.

I sought in vain for mony a year
For ae kind kindred crony, man;
Now I've found ane I'll aye hold dear,
My antiquarian Honeyman.

How Knox demolished Lundors towers,
His tales are queer and funny, man;
Whar lecherous priests twined lady bowers
Nane kens sae weel as Honeyman.

The hoddy holes and dungeons deep,
Like warrens for the coney, man,
Whar heretics sleep the lang sleep,
Ha'e been explored by Honeyman.

The vaults that never see the light,
  Ance stored wi' good Burgony, man,
The catacombs far out o' sight,
  Are a' weel kent to Honeyman.

There's heads of stone, a' weather-worn,
  Saint Pete, Saint Paul, Saint Johnny, man;
Stane coffins for monks' brats adorn
  The museum o' sage Honeyman.

The skulls o' sinners, saunts, and seers,
  Whase grins might 'stonish ony, man,
Deep buried some five hundred years,
  Have been turned up by Honeyman.

The battle axe by Wallace worn,
  The sceptre of King Kenny, man,
And crawtaes found at Bannockburn,
  Hang in the hall of Honeyman.

There's coins of Baliol and Bruce,
  A boddle and a penny, man,
And rusty rapiers, ance for use,
  Preserved wi' care by Honeyman.

A bracelet o' the good Queen Bess,
  A sandal of Queen Anny, man,
An abbot's kist, a nun's night-dress,
  Are proudly shown by Honeyman.

There's broken bows and arrow heads,
  Which doubtless both shot mony, man,
There's pointed panes and lammer beads,
  Arranged on shelfs by Honeyman.

A ferrule of Saint Swithin's cane,—
He wha mak's days sae rainy, man,—
A link of Beaton's lang back bane,
Are in the keep of Honeyman.

Gags, thumbkins, pincers, throttlin' belts,
With fetters to fix ony man,
Strait jackets, jougs, steel trews and kilts
Can be supplied by Honeyman.

The nuns who baskèd heretofore
On garden sward and gowany lawn,—
The key that locked their cloister door
Was grubbit up by Honeyman.

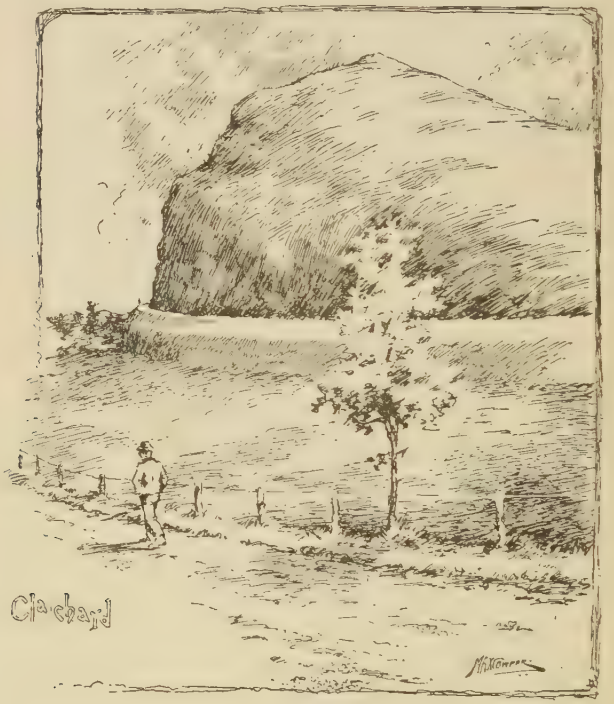
He showed me parchments twa-ell lang
Wrote fu' on ochmagony, man,
And mony a holy father's sang
Aff them was sung by Honeyman.

The foregoing verses were copied from the original MSS. of the late Mr Charles Spence, of Rait, by Mr John Paul, of Dundee, and are here given in print for the first time.

The Honeyman referred to was a tenant of the farm on which the Abbey ruins are situated, and was resident there when most of the clearing out was effected about the middle of last century.

Clach-ard-Craig—"the craig of the high stone"—is a conspicuous object a short distance to the south of the Abbey. The high stone was a detached

portion standing 90 feet high and 25 feet wide on one side. It leaned towards the east. Several thousand persons witnessed its overthrow by gunpowder on 3rd June 1846.



Thomas the Rhymer, who seems to have made observations regarding all natural and curious features in the country, announced that it was to stand till it fell on a white horse that never was

born. As its fall was rendered necessary to make room for the railway and its steam-propelled engines, the Rhymer was not far astray in his prophecy.

On the craig itself a strong castle once stood, which Sir James Balfour in his notes tells was levelled with the ground by the Romans under Martius, Commander of the Thracian Cohorts, under the Emperor Commodus; ruins of defensive trenches, which were double, may yet be seen.

The Grange.

About a mile and a half to the south of the Abbey is the Grange or Home Farm Lands. Few of the original houses or buildings are left, but the place is interesting, for it reminds us of the sectional arrangements of the Abbey system. Here would be storehouses and workshops where the monks could introduce or make machinery to aid them in their various occupations.

Although monks are generally considered as being devoted to contemplation and indoor studies, the Tironensians, besides their religious observances, devoted themselves to active outdoor employments. There were lay brothers too who lived in homes outside the Abbey itself. These brothers formed a permanent congregation for the church services. The serfs resident on the Abbey lands had likewise to be strictly looked

after, and their only chance of freedom or change lay in joining the Church as monks. These facts indicate that the duties of the brethren included, independent of attention to the personal comfort of illustrious visitors, the oversight of land—ploughing, sowing and reaping of grain, flower and fruit-tree cultivation, woodcutting, peat-casting, hunting, and salmon-fishing.

The journeyings to and fro between the Abbey and its distant possessions, the arrival and departure of brothers from and to the Continent, with the various incidents connected therewith, must have given a not unpleasing variety to monastic life in Scotland. Many of the different sorts of pear and other fruit trees in the Abbey orchard and in Newburgh were first imported from the Continent by the monks, who by patience and skill acclimatised and improved them.

These things are sufficient to show that Scotland gained something from the presence of monks, whose good works are worthy of commendation. Had their energies been confined to education and social regeneration, and had they avoided the evils so often associated with luxury and idleness, the old age of Monachism might have been the boast of our time, or its natural decay and extinction something to look back upon with genuine regret.

This old church is well worth a visit. It is about two miles distant from the Abbey, and is situated on rising ground near the west end of Lindores Loch. It had been built adjacent to or on the actual site of an earlier church of Culdee origin. It was dedicated by David de Bernhame, Bishop of St Andrews and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, on 5th September 1242, and the final service held within its walls was on the 11th November 1827. Roofless and desolate it now stands, in sympathy with the aged pilgrim whose reveries are, it may be, akin to its own.

The story of the ecclesiastic who dedicated Abdie Church is a saddening one. Although he consecrated for divine service nearly 200 places of worship in Fife and neighbouring counties, yet his own life was so sinful that when he died the Tyrone monks of Kelso protested against his body being buried within their monastery.

This loch, which is in some parts twenty feet deep, has an area of about seventy acres, and approaches a mile in length. It is fed by the Priests' burn, which never freezes and never dries up. It abounds in pike, perch, and eel, and is the haunt of duck, teal, and snipe.

During severe winters its usual quiet gives place

to lively scenes, when bonspiels draw lovers of the "roaring game" from far and near to engage in friendly contests. It is the position of this beautiful sheet of water that gives us the term Lindores, which is derived from *Linne-doruis*, the Gaelic for "the pool close to a narrow outlet."

LINDORES.

Not very far from the north margin of the loch the modern village of Lindores rests content, knowing nothing of the bustle of towns or commercial centres. Here the historian of the Abbey was born in 1808. The ancient village of Lindores was beside Abdie old church; but when the Abbey was built the village and its place of worship were described as Auld Lindores, afterwards changed to Abdie, which signifies church land or portion.

Newburgh.

Newburgh was erected into a burgh-of-barony by Alexander III. in 1266 in favour of the Abbot and Convent of Lindores, and was granted all the usual privileges of such burghs. In 1457 it was converted into a royal burgh. In 1631 Charles I. confirmed the ancient royal charter, but the burghers never exercised their right of sending a member to the Scottish Parliament.

One of the witnesses to the charter of 1266 was Sir Neil Campbell, grandson of Gillespie Campbell, and son of Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochaw, known as Mac Chailean Mór. Sir Neil swore fealty to Edward I. of England in 1296, when his name was added to the "Ragman's Roll" of History, but he afterwards joined Bruce, and fought by the latter's side from the defeat of Methven to the victory of Bannockburn. Bruce gave him in marriage his sister Lady Mary.

Newburgh is a healthy and pleasantly situated town. If the clicking of weavers' shuttles in loom-shops and side rooms is no longer in evidence, linen manufacture still engages attention, while a large floorcloth and linoleum factory recently erected is a token that its leading men have a spirit of enterprise.

An excellent library and museum, gifted and provided for by the late Alexander Laing, LL.D., testify, along with other benefactions, to the warm

interest he took in everything connected with his beloved Newburgh-on-Tay.

In the wall of a house in the High Street of Newburgh, and facing the north, an interesting relic

of the Abbey is to be seen. It shows a badge with a shield above surmounted by a crosier or pastoral staff. The badge is the same as was borne by the ancient Earls of Warwick—namely the bear

and ragged staff. The shield markings are unfortunately effaced, but the pastoral crook above is clear and of significance, as only an ecclesiastic would dare to put such a symbol in such a position. The stone must have formed at one time a part of the Abbey's decorations or the abbot's residence. We are inclined to believe that it goes back to the time of the first abbot, Guy, or Guido, as the Latin gives it, who is supposed to have been a cadet of the house of Warwick. Shakespeare, in the second part of King Henry VI. Act V., refers to this badge, where Clifford asks—

"Might I but know thee by thy household badge,"

to which Warwick replied—

"Now, by my father's badge, old Nevil's crest,
The rampant bear chained to the ragged staff."

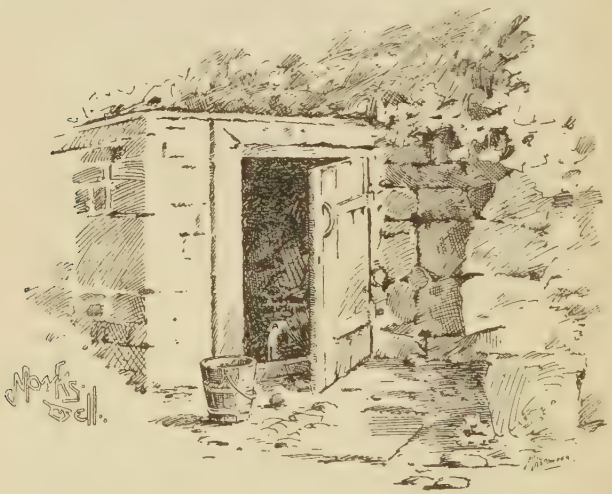
In tracing the origin of the badge we discovered what may have suggested the name of the Abbey's own town of Newburgh. The bear and ragged staff belong to an age when every chivalric deed formed a theme for the bard's inspiring song, or became incorporate with the legendary lore of the monkish scribe. The bear carries us back to the time of Arthur and the Round Table. One of his knights was Arthgal, whose name in the British language was Arsh or Narsh, signifying a bear. The ragged staff is attributed to Morvidus, an earl

of the same family remarkable for his valour and prowess, who slew a formidable giant by means of a young tree, which by his extraordinary strength he had torn up by the roots for the purpose.

Rous, the antiquary, tells that "on the twelfth of June A.D. 926, being the third year of the reign of Athelstan, a most terrible single combat took place between the champions of Kings of England and Denmark—Guy, Earl of Warwick, and Colebrand, the pagan, an African giant. Through the mercy of God the Christian undertook the combat, being advised thereto by an angel; and the faithful servant of God and the Church fortunately vanquished the enemy of the whole realm of England." In the Castle of Warwick there can yet be seen the helmet and spear of the redoubtable Guy, who is reputed to have been seven feet in height, and is the hero of many legendary stories.

Roger de Bellomonte, a Norman knight, accompanied William the Conqueror in his successful invasion of England in 1066, and was a commander in the army sent against Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm, King of Scotland. His second son, Henry de Newburgh, was created Earl of Warwick in 1076, and adopted the badge of his ancestors in the earldom. By this means the Bear and Ragged Staff became Norman property. The male line of the Newburgh family

ceased on the death of the sixth earl in 1242. A female descendant of Henry de Newburgh named Isabel was married to Simon de Lis, second Earl of Huntingdon. They had no family, and on the death of Earl Simon the King of England offered the earldom to William "the Lion," King of Scotland, who, as already explained, gave it to his brother David, the founder of Lindores Abbey. Earl David was succeeded by his son, John le Scot, on whose death without issue in 1237 the earldom fell into abeyance.



In the hillside towards the south-east end of Newburgh Monks' Well can be seen, engaged in the same ceaseless task that attracted the monks to it when they took up their abode at Lindores.

They conveyed its refreshing waters to the Abbey by an artificial conduit called Rood-linn burn or Holywell burn. Like many other relics of monkish times, the course of Rood-linn burn can no longer be traced, but the well retains its voice, and in unison with Tennyson's brook may sing:—

> The monks may come, the monks may go,
> But I go on for ever.

118 pp.

THE DIVOT DYKE,

AND OTHER POEMS.

BY

A. H. REA.

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"Mr Rea frequently tunes his lyre to Doric measures, and in his poems in 'guid braid Scots' he is most successful. His recitals of humorous incidents are given in rollicking style."—*Dundee Advertiser.*

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